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The Agricultural Colonisation of
the Zionist Organisation in Palestine

PALESTINE

— Railways ● TOWNS
 — Main roads ● Jewish agricultural settlements

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 "Erez Israel (Palestina)
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The Agricultural Colonisation
of the Zionist Organisation in
Palestine. By DR. ARTHUR RUPPIN.

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PREFACE.

This book is the outcome of my seventeen years' connection with agricultural colonisation in the service of the Zionist Organisation. From small beginnings that colonisation has grown steadily until to-day it has attained considerable dimensions. Like all purely economic and non-political undertakings, it was at first the step-child of the Zionist Organisation, and received only the most perfunctory notice at the earlier Congresses. Of recent years, however, it has attracted in constantly increasing measure the attention of the Zionist public ; and, I believe that there is now a genuine desire among that public to be made more fully acquainted with the development of the colonisation, and with the problems which it involves.

In endeavouring to supply this need by giving a comprehensive survey of the colonising activity of the Zionist Organisation, I have been led to write at greater length than I originally intended. But if justice was to be done to the subject, it seemed to me that completeness was of more importance than conciseness.

The essential points which the book seeks to make may be very briefly stated. They are :

- (1)—That for the success of the Zionist colonisation, sociological no less than economic factors have to be taken into account.

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- (2)—That the peculiar nature of the problem, which is to bring back townsmen, and Jewish townsmen, to agricultural life in Palestine, renders a solution on the lines of any existing model impossible, and necessitates the application of new methods.
- (3)—That for estimating the true value of the agricultural colonisation, we must view it in connection with Zionist activity as a whole, and not as something apart.
- (4)—That the great sacrifices demanded by the work of colonisation are repaid not only by the immediate results, but by the fact that the experience acquired in the process is the indispensable basis for colonising on a larger scale in the future.

In my survey of the agricultural colonisation, I have made no attempt to conceal the difficulties with which it is beset. In opposition to those who gloss over the difficulties or try to make light of them, I have aimed at awakening the conscience of the Zionist public, and giving it a deeper insight into the problems with which the colonisation has to contend. I have further tried to demonstrate that without agricultural colonisation the construction of a Jewish National Home in Palestine is an impossibility, and that for this reason we dare not shirk the struggle with the difficulties, nor abandon it till we have successfully overcome them.

I trust that this book will be found to furnish the materials for a correct appreciation of the colonising work of the Zionist Organisation, and that it will stimulate public interest in this activity.

A. RUPPIN.

Jerusalem, Nissim 5,685—April, 1925.

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SECTION I.

CHAPTER I.

THE COMMENCEMENT OF ZIONIST COLONISATION.

Already the earliest stages of the Jewish national movement show the realisation that agriculture must be the economic basis for Jewish immigration into Palestine. One can find it clearly expressed in the writings of Hirsch Kalischer (about 1860), and in the first utterances of the Hoveve Zion, that the return to Palestine must at the same time be a return to the soil. Very few people, however, had at that time a clear understanding of the immense difficulties with which this necessity would confront the Jewish nation.

Outside Palestine the Jewish population is composed in such a way as to resemble a pyramid whose broad base consists of merchants, their employees and commercial middlemen. These are followed by industrialists, by professional men (doctors, lawyers, engineers, teachers, journalists, artists, etc.), and by artisans (especially tailors, bootmakers, tinkers, glaziers and goldsmiths), and it is only when we reach the narrow apex of the structure that we find farmers and industrial labourers. The order of this pyramid must in Palestine be exactly reversed, if agriculture is to be the foundation of economic life. That which forms the apex in the Galuth must now become the base. This means a

radical *transformation of occupations*, which in itself is extremely difficult and takes up much time ; and it is all the more difficult if this transformation goes, as in our case, hand in hand with the need of becoming accustomed to a different country, a different climate and a different language.

But the fact that in Palestine the Jews will have to compete with a people of a much lower standard of life is even more serious. The whole Orient is characterised by a frightful exploitation of human labour, especially that of women and children. The woman, who in Anatolia or Persia sits in front of the carpet-loom from her childhood till her last days, and all the time scarcely earns a crust of dry bread ; the fellah woman in Egypt, who, when but thirty years old, is turned into an old woman through a combination of the poorest of foodstuffs and the heaviest of labour ; the Egyptian and Syrian children who work in factories ten and twelve hours daily for 2—3 piastres (half gold-franc) a day, these are all examples of this terrible exploitation. Thus Palestine only shares the fate of the whole Near East if the standard of life of its native population is wretched in the extreme, and if wages are at the lowest possible level. In comparison with Egypt, where a workman working twelve hours a day earns 5 piastres, and women and children only 2—3 piastres, and where the fellahin live chiefly on dry durrha-bread, one might even call Palestine progressive ; its wages are fifty per cent. higher, its villages, in spite of all their primitiveness, are better built than the miserable clay hovels of the Egyptians, and the Palestinian peasants do not necessarily regard wheaten bread as a luxury. Yet there still remains a considerable difference between the essential conditions of life of the Palestinian fellah and those of the migrating European Jews. The Jew is ready to suffer many hardships, but he cannot, if he is to remain healthy, descend below a certain minimum, both in quality and quantity of food. He cannot do

without schools and medical attention for his children, and he will not degrade his wife to a beast of burden. His consumption of soap, laundry, clothes, light, etc., is far greater than that of the fellah, which is practically nil. To put it shortly: *Even in Palestine the Jew wishes to remain a product of the twentieth century.* He will not let himself be pushed back to that level of culture which Europe has left a hundred years behind, and which has only survived in the East. This is perfectly intelligible, yet it presents an extremely difficult problem. It must be remembered that the Jews only form a small minority in the country, and that they cannot in one day induce the non-Jewish majority to adopt a higher standard of life. It is true that the standard of the Arabs is also slowly rising, and that in the course of a few decades the difference between them and the Jews might perhaps disappear. But in this period of transition the Jew in Palestine stands confronted with this competition, wherever he may settle. It is characteristic that after all only those Jews who, like their non-Jewish competitors, have employed cheap native labour, have hitherto drawn any profits either from industry or agriculture. This fact that the Jews *wish to maintain in Palestine a European standard of civilisation and must yet compete economically with a majority not accustomed to such a standard*, contains the root of all the difficulties with which our agricultural colonisation has to struggle, and which have not been fully mastered up to the present day.

As the year of birth of Jewish agricultural colonisation in Palestine, either the year 1870, in which Charles Netter, on behalf of the Alliance Israelite Universelle of Paris, founded the agricultural school at Mikveh Israel near Jaffa, or the year 1878, in which Jews from Jerusalem acquired a stretch of land in Petah Tikvah, or the year 1882, when Russian Jews laid the foundation of the colony Rishon-le-Zion, may be taken. The colonisation itself is divided into four periods.

(1). The period up to 1900—the period of the Rothschild administration, and of the cultivation of wine and oranges. The colonies Petah Tikvah, Rishon-le-Zion, Zicron Jacob, Rosh Pinah, Rehoboth, Katrah and Kastanie were founded in this period.

(2). 1901—1907—the period of the foundation of the colonies in Lower Galilee, which were given large areas (on the average 250 dunam for each colonist) for the cultivation of wheat under the direction of the Jewish Colonisation Association.

(3). 1908—1920—the period of the first colonising attempts of the Zionist Organisation on the basis of mixed farming (corn, dairy, farming, vegetables, poultry-farming, plantations) with small means and on small areas. The founding of the colonies Kineret, Daganiah, Benshemen, Huldah, Merhaviah belongs to this period.

(4). Since 1921—the period of the extension of the colonising work of the Zionist Organisation through the employment of larger means and the acquisition of large connected areas, especially of those in the Emek Yezreel, the period of the founding of Nahalal, Kfar Yehe-skiel, Tel Joseph, etc., and of the founding of the colony Benyaminah by the J.C.A.

Jewish agricultural colonisation in Palestine was at the outset a problem with very many unknown factors. The theorist at his table was able to fix these unknowns at a certain size and volume and to “concoct” a solution of the problem. In practice, however, all those solutions melted away like the snow in the sun. Before learning to swim one must venture into the water; equally so, one can only arrive at a final solution of the problems of Jewish colonisation through *colonisation itself*. A *period of preparation* was essential in order to determine all the unknown factors, such as the extent to which Jews freshly arrived from European cities and towns would be able to adapt themselves to another climate and another way of working, the best and most comprehensive system of society for men in the new settlements,

the best means of acquiring agricultural experience, the best methods of agriculture and industry, the prevention and cure of disease, the marketing of the produce, etc. The societies for colonisation and the settlers themselves were not able to follow a straight and well-defined path, but were obliged to determine its direction from day to day and according to their own experiences. It is no wonder then that this path was not straight but winding. It is easy for the present-day observer to criticise this way, yet the critic overlooks the fact that in spite of all the roundabout ways we have advanced a great deal towards our goal. If we had not done this, if we had not chosen the longer way, considering everything with the utmost care and learning from our own practical experience, but had obstinately followed a certain path in a straight line with the levity and confidence of theorists pure and simple, it might well have happened that that path would have brought us no nearer to our object, or would even have removed us further from it. Moreover, such an obstinate adherence to a plan proved merely in theory would in all probability have demanded a far greater expenditure than the careful zig-zag way.

In the year 1908, when the Zionist Organisation made their first groping steps into the region of colonisation, the object was clear ; it was to provide with the least possible expenditure a permanent agricultural existence for the greatest number of Jews, an existence which would enable them to lead the life of civilised men and would also seem desirable to their children. How was this to be attained ? Only one thing was clear: both forms of colonisation known in Palestine in the 25 years before 1908, namely plantations on the one hand, and extensive wheat cultivation on the other, did not lead to its achievement. Plantations are unsuccessful because they require too much capital, and because they use far more non-Jewish than Jewish labour, extensive wheat cultivation because the Jewish

mentality cannot conform to its monotony, and the small produce is not enough for a European minimum of existence.

There are few things sadder to imagine than the state of mind of the old colonists, 8,000 souls on 350,000 dunam land, composing something like 25 agricultural settlements, round about the year 1908. The older generation was grown weary and sullen with the labour and toil of a quarter of a century, without the faintest hope for the future or the slightest enjoyment of the present ; the younger generation, brought up in French schools, wished but one thing, namely to leave agriculture, which could not provide their parents with a secure living, and to find a " better " occupation in the outside world. These conditions were all the more pitiful because the pioneers who had laid the foundations of the old colonies could, in their willingness to make sacrifices, in their unwavering faith in agriculture as the source of a national renaissance, compare favourably even with the best Halutzim elements of the present day. The heroic force with which these first settlers in Petah Tikvah, Rishon-le-Zion, Katrah, Hederah, and many other colonies resisted all the pangs of hunger, the ravages of disease and the chicanery of the Turkish officials, forms a page of everlasting glory in the history of Jewish Colonisation. And in spite of all this willingness to make the greatest sacrifices, in spite of all the large resources which Baron Edmond de Rothschild, the father of Jewish colonisation, put at the disposal of the settlers, the old colonies had arrived at a blind alley. In the plantations they turned the settler into a plantation owner using cheap non-Jewish labour ; in the wheat-growing colonies they pushed him down to the level of the ignorant fellah, without giving him the latter's untiring energy and agricultural experience. It became the customary thing that the Jewish settler and owner of cereal fields farmed out his land to a fellah for a certain share in the produce,

and did not work on it at all. Thus a farm, barely sufficing for the upkeep of one family, had now to provide for two. The natural consequences were poverty, debt and flight from the colonies.

Yet the old colonists provided some very valuable experiences. They had learnt the art of vine-culture from experts sent from the South of France by Baron de Rothschild, and brought their vineyards as well as the orange plantations at Jaffa, till then very primitive indeed, to a level of excellence never previously attained in Palestine. Moreover, in the constitutions of the colonies they had created the first forms of the new Jewish communal life and society. But for the reasons given above it was impossible for the Zionist Organisation simply to continue on the route started by these colonists, which could not possibly lead to the object desired. While making use of all the experience of the old colonies, it was essential to find new ways and methods.

Admittedly the first steps on this way were small and groping, for the Zionist Organisation lacked one essential thing: money. To-day the Organisation has, by means of the Keren Hayesod, a yearly agricultural budget of £125,000, and even this is regarded as insufficient for colonisation on a large scale. Thus it was a most daring venture to attempt agricultural colonisation in the year 1908, for at that time only three per cent. of the present budget was available, all the more daring as these means, belonging to the Jewish National Fund, the Olive Tree Fund and the National Development Co., were to be disposed of not for colonisation in general, but only for certain fixed purposes, and could only be obtained for colonisation by round-about methods. More daring still, since it was a period when the party of political Zionists was jealously seeing to it that there should be no colonisation in Palestine, but merely "preliminaries for a future colonisation."

The first steps were symptomatic: they were the

foundation of the '*Training Farm*' Kinereth (1908), and of the "*Kvutza*" Daganiah (1909), founded on land belonging to the Jewish National Fund with the means of the Palestine Land Development Co. The Jewish National Fund (J.N.F.) had been founded by the Organisation in 1901 in order to acquire some pieces of land in Palestine as the inalienable property of the Jewish people. Between 1905 and 1907, the Fund bought some territories (Kinereth-Daganiah, Hittin, Huldah, Benshemen), yet could make no use of them, and either left them lying fallow, or farmed them out to Arabs in order to avoid the Mahlul (Confiscation by the government of all pieces of land left fallow for three consecutive years). There were no Jews ready to lease and cultivate the land. The old colonies possessed sufficient and more than sufficient uncultivated land, so that there was no need of starting on isolated territories. Who knows what might have been the fate of these first territories of the J.N.F., had not the Palestine Land Development Co. (P.L.D.C.) intervened? The Palestine Land Development Company was founded in 1908, together with the Palestine Office.* The P.L.D.C. leased the territories Kinereth-Daganiah from the National Fund and started farming activities with its own means. For settlers the best young people in the country who were willing to undergo the heavy task of occupying new land were chosen. It was obviously impossible to obtain labourers of agricultural experience, for such did not as yet exist in the country. The labourers who went to Kinereth had had, at the best, very insufficient agricultural training. Yet they were absolutely first-class material as regards enthusiasm

*When I was requested by the Zionist Actions' Committee, at the end of 1907, to take up the post of Palestinian representative of the Zionist Organisation and of Director of the department later known as the Palestine Office, I made my consent depend on the condition that together with the Palestine Office, the administrative authority, a certain institute should be founded which would have legal rights as a company, and would thus become the conductor of all the legal affairs connected with work in Palestine. Thereupon the P.L.D.C. was founded.

and willingness to bear suffering and want. It was from amongst these 30 men, who in 1908 took possession of the land of Kinereth, that later on the seven men were chosen who formed the first Kvutza at Daganiah. A short time later, the Palestine Office also founded, from the funds of the Olive Tree Collection, Jewish farms with Jewish labourers in Benshemen and Hulda.

The fact that Zionist Companies were founding agricultural settlements in which all the work was being performed by Jewish labourers gave a mighty impulse to the whole national movement. Up to then it had only on very rare occasions been possible to find work for young Jewish men coming into the colonies, the conditions of labour in respect of wages and training facilities had been very bad, and relations with the colonists strained. Now for the first time young men were able to study the ways of mastering all branches of agriculture, and could also, a fact very important to them, *work creatively and assist in the erection of the new system*. Already in Kinereth the supervisor, an expert agriculturalist, had been assisted by a committee of workmen; in Daganiah this was increased to a full responsibility of the labourers for the management of their farm. *In this way, Kinereth and Daganiah have been the gates through which fresh blood came into the old colonies and changed their stagnation into new life.* They will forever occupy a place of honour in the history of Jewish colonisation.

Kinereth and Daganiah, Huldah and Benshemen were followed by other settlements, among which the "Co-operative Settlement" founded in 1910 on the plan of Franz Oppenheimer, is worthy of mention. These new settlements were not all of the same type, yet they had in common certain underlying principles in which they differed from their older predecessors. These principles were as follows:

(1) As regards the economic system: *The self-provisioning* of the settlers from their own produce

precedes the sale to outsiders. In connection with this it was found necessary to *diversify* the agricultural system, *i.e.*, to introduce all the branches of agriculture essential for maintenance of life to the settler ; this meant, in addition to the cultivation of wheat, the introduction of dairy-farming, poultry-farming, vegetable-culture, bee-keeping, and plantations (the so-called *mixed farming*.)

(2) The principle that all necessary work should be performed by the settler and his family, was universally adopted. This had as its consequence not only that the settler came into much closer contact with agriculture and the land, but also that he only received that area of land which he himself could hope to cultivate. While the settlers of the Jewish Colonisation Association settlements received on the average 250 dunam each, the new settlers only received 100 dunam.

(3) As regards the relation of the individual settler towards the colonisation companies, the principle of *equal rights* of either party was established.

(4) The settlers have *full autonomy* to chose their own social system, whether it be individual or collective, unless the system chosen possesses recognisable economic drawbacks.

(5) It was gradually realised that the young immigrants, most of whom were already more than eighteen years of age, should receive their training not in agricultural schools, but through *practical experience on the land itself*, such as in the Kvutzoth.

(6) From the time when the Keren Hayesod was able to put larger means at the disposal of the settlers, the principle of making the most *important ameliorations* (the drainage of swamps, water supply, communications with the highways) *either before or immediately after the founding of a new settlement* was introduced.

(7) In connection with (6) increased attention

was given to *constructing a whole settlement* on a general plan, and the latest experience in the sphere of parcellation of ground and bases for settlement has been utilised.

(8) Regarding *the purchase of land*, it was decided that its acquisition should be accelerated, contrary to the widely spread view that the money available should be kept back until prices should fall.

(9) Obviously these principles were at the beginning not all equally clear ; they have been gathered slowly from actual experience, yet they have now become all-important in the colonisation policy of the Zionist Organisation. They will therefore be discussed in greater detail in the following chapters.

SECTION II.—

THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ZIONIST COLONISING POLICY.

CHAPTER II.

THE SYSTEM OF MIXED FARMING.

The Zionist Organisation has chosen the system of mixed farming as the agricultural system of its settlements. It is the natural consequence of shortcomings of the other two systems which had predominated up to that time, namely plantations and likewise cultivation of grain. Apart from the fact that plantations require greater capital and can only yield a produce after 5-7 years, the drawbacks of the two previous systems are :

(a) Neither system requires an equally distributed amount of labour during the whole course of the year, but each requires very much at one period, little or none at another. It follows that during the latter period the settler must rest more or less idle while in the former he is forced to hire labourers, as there are usually not enough Jewish labourers available during the busy seasons or they are too expensive (for much of the work can be done by women and children). So that practically only non-Jewish labourers are employed. From here was but a step to having the general manual labour performed by non-Jews, the Jewish proprietor confining himself to supervising, directing, buying and selling.

(b) A failure of the grain crops, or difficulties in the sale or the transport of the produce of plantations would be a catastrophe for the settlers, for the losses could not be made good by gains in other branches of agriculture.

(c) Owing to the bad conditions and high costs of transport that existed in Palestine 15 years ago, and partly still exist now, (*i.e.*, no harbour, bad communications and poor roads to the old colonies), the colonist only received a poor price for that part of the grain which he was able to sell, while he was on the other hand obliged to pay relatively very high prices for everything he had to buy for himself and his family.

Mixed farming has none of these drawbacks attached to it. Its many different branches provide the settler with work at all times of the year, and he can arrange his farm in such a way as to manage altogether or very nearly altogether without paid labour. Mixed farming, which furnishes the settler with grain, food for his animals, milk and milk products, vegetables, poultry, eggs, honey and fuel, thus provides him with almost everything necessary for life. He is consequently much more independent of the market price. His wife and children can also give him substantial help in the easier kinds of work. The whole atmosphere of mixed farming is to a much greater degree agricultural than that of plantations, which are subject to strong commercial influences through their dependence on exterior markets. The children growing up in the system of mixed farming acquire immeasurably more agricultural knowledge than is possible in the other systems. This latter reason is of special importance for Jewish colonisation, for the tradition and love of the soil has to be created anew. The saying of a distinguished American coloniser that the most important of secondary considerations of agricultural colonisation is the education and training of the farmers of the second generation, is doubly true of Jewish colonisers.

The many different branches of mixed farming enable the settler to counterbalance bad results in one branch by good results in another. Thus the risk of failure is diminished and a greater equality of income assured. It is much more desirable to a farmer that his

returns should be more or less equal every year, than that one year they should be very high, and the next year very low, even if the average remains the same. After a very good year, a farmer is very easily inclined to spend more money, whether in order to improve his standard of life or to invest it in his farm ; the next year may yield but poor returns and he is faced by a crisis. These are the crises which those colonies whose products, such as the wine of Rishon-le-Zion, the oranges of Petah Tikvah, or the almonds of Bir Jacob, go in the first place on the world market, have to face every few years. At such periods they are regularly obliged either to rely upon outside help, or to borrow money at usurious rates of interest. A few fat years may follow, the crises may soon be forgotten, yet the danger remains undiminished.

The great reason why the Jewish farmer will do better to grow for his own needs rather than for the purpose of selling, lies in the competition which he has to face in the home market from the Palestinian fellaheen and in the world market from Egypt and other Mediterranean countries. Let us take as an illustration a Jewish settlement and an Arab village, both with the same climate and local conditions, sending vegetables, milk, eggs, honey, to a neighbouring town. An extremely primitive mode of life, costing per working day—reckoned in money—only 6—8 piastres, enables the Arab village to go much lower in its prices than the Jewish settlement, in which every working man must have daily at least 15—20 piastres wherewith to supply his needs. The Jewish settlers can therefore only dispose of their produce in Palestine at reasonable prices where an agglomeration of Jewish consumers exists through which, with the help of propaganda and organised sales, they can obtain better prices than can their Arab competitors. But inroads of this cheap competition on the Jewish market are occurring and become the more frequent and dangerous as the bridge

widens between the prices of the Jewish and Arab producers.

Against these difficulties in the sale of the produce can be set this advantage which the farmer has who grows for his own consumption : it does not force him to climb down to the sale prices and indirectly to the standard of life of the Arab fellaheen. *The products which the producer consumes himself are worth far more to him than if he grows them for sale, for they have greater value than the money which he will obtain for them.* To make this clearer by an example : a settler who produces in his farm a certain quantity of wheat, potatoes, tomatoes, milk, butter, eggs, poultry, honey, on which he and his family can comfortably subsist, would, if he employed the same labour on growing them for commercial ends, not be able to bring in so much sustenance from their sale. The reason for this is that if he sells his produce he must bear the cost of transporting it to the market, and other incidental expenses, and must adapt his prices to those offered by the more cheaply producing Arab farmer. Further, in buying he again has the cost of transport to his debit, as well as the trader's profits.

Better conditions wait upon the Jewish settler's cultivation of plantations which are not yet known to the Arab fellah, or which require a capital the fellah does not possess (*e.g.*, fine table grapes, bananas, fruit-trees). But here the producer soon comes up against the difficulty of the small capacity of the home market for taking up this produce. As soon as the produce has to be sent abroad there steps into the place of the Palestinian fellah the competition of Egypt and of other Mediterranean countries. This is the more dangerous, as still lower wages obtain in many of these countries than in Palestine, and, besides this, better climate and better connections with the European market. Here, too, one has to reckon with the uncertainty of the market in regard to quantity and prices. The profitableness of the most lucrative branch of agriculture in Palestine,

the orange industry, depends upon Palestine producing and despatching to England not more than the English market can absorb. At the present time a balance exists between the production and the consumption in England. But a considerable increase in production would at once disturb this balance, and the prices would sink below the cost of production. The Jaffa orange is a luxury fruit, which on account of its good quality commands in England nearly double the price paid for the Spanish orange. There is little hope that the surplus of the production, after the English market is satisfied, can be disposed of in other countries at such high rates as in England with her large rich purchasing class. Prohibition in the United States has dealt the Palestine wine trade a severe blow, from which it has not yet recovered. The Palestine almond has to fight against the very heavy competition of the Italian and Spanish almond. The Palestine almond-planter has to wait for a bad crop in Italy or Spain (occurring every couple of years or so) before he can recover his expenses.

Thus it will always be a very daring venture to specialise in agricultural products depending altogether, or nearly altogether on export. Specialisation on produce which could be sold mainly in the country itself would on the other hand greatly diminish all risks. Such products would not be subject to the costs of transport, the profit of middlemen or the danger of decay before reaching their destination. The more such "home-products" are available, the greater will be the advantage to both producers and consumers. The farmer must of course produce a certain surplus for the *market*, since he will always require ready money to pay for essentials of life, such as medicine, clothes, taxes, etc., which he cannot provide himself. Yet he will be able to sell this produce all the more easily if his market is very near.

In the early days of Jewish colonisation, plantations and grain cultivation were chosen because they were

the only two forms of agriculture known to the Arabs. The Arab grows his corn year in and year out in a certain order, summer crop, winter crop, fallow ; in addition he possesses at the most one poor worn-down cow, half-starved during the dry season, a few sheep, and a handful of chickens. His whole existence depends on whether his main crop, that of wheat, turns out good or bad. Yet as he requires very little, and in bad years is able to require less still, he manages to eke out a precarious living, though of course never able to improve his standard of life. Only in the vicinity of towns does he lead a better life, for there he is able to sell vegetables at respectable prices. Besides this system of agriculture there was that of the rich Arab citizen, the Effendi who owned an orchard of oranges or a plantation of olive-trees in which he employed hired labour. There was no third type known to the Arab, but a new type of agriculture had been introduced by the *German colonies*, Sarona and Wilhelma. It consisted of a mixture of plantations, grain cultivation and cattle raising, among which the latter, especially *dairy products* played the chief part when Zionist colonisation began. These two German colonies had long agricultural experience behind them, and had made great progress, especially in the production of cattle-fodder. Building on these experiences, the Zionist farm Benshemen devoted itself from the year 1910 to cattle raising and fodder culture, and, as in the German colonies, it was soon recognised that the first requirement was the introduction of superior breeds of cattle. While the native cow only yields 700 litres of milk a year, good cows from Dislan (Transjordan) yield 1,500, and cows from Beirut and Damascus yield 2,000—3,000 litres and more, and Dutch cows 3,000—4,500 litres a year. It is certainly true that these superior breeds require better treatment and nourishment than the Palestinian cow, which can live on very little ; nevertheless the net profit obtained from the highly bred cows is by far the greater. In Benshemen

intercrossings of East Frisian with Beirut, Damascene and Palestinian native cows were undertaken, and those bred in this way sent to the other farms erected by the Zionist Organisation through the Keren Hayesod. A large modern cowshed, a novelty for Palestine, was built in 1912 in Daganiah. Attempts were made after the War to introduce valuable cows from Holland. They yield, it is true, 3,000—4,000 litres of milk per year, but they are subject to a greater degree to certain diseases such as pyroplasmosis and abortus.

The first attempts to improve the breed of *poultry* were also made at Benshemen. The Palestinian chicken, though requiring little nourishment, only lays about a hundred small eggs a year, while breeds recently imported to Benshemen, such as Rhode Islands and Leghorns, lay more than twice as many eggs. Much experience was of course necessary in order to acclimatise these imported breeds to Palestinian conditions, and to guard them from disease. Good results have recently been obtained from continued interbreeding of selected Arab stock with Leghorns. The advantage here is in the greater immunity in the offspring to disease. In general the new Jewish settlements now possess excellently arranged poultry yards with superior breeds of poultry, whose origin can nearly always be traced back to Benshemen.

Wine and orange plantations, and to a lesser degree almond-plantations were constructed in the Jewish colonies during the period of the Rothschild administration. The cultivation of the mulberry for the purpose of rearing silk worms, begun during the nineties, had been given up after a certain time. Very few *olive-trees*, the most important of fruit trees to the Arab, were found in the Jewish colonies, the reason being that they yield fruit only after 8—10 years, while vine, orange, and almond do so after 4 or 5 years. The first olive-tree plantations were laid down by the Jewish Colonisation Association in Ekron, and by the colonists

in Petah Tikvah, in Rishon-le-Zion and Rechobot, and then from 1910 large areas in Hulda and Benshemen were planted with these trees, the costs being borne by funds from the Olive-Tree Collection. As, however, the olive only requires attention during part of the year, it was found inadvisable to maintain a farm solely for that one purpose. Several years had to elapse before it was possible to free Huldah from the narrow bounds which the aims of the olive-tree fund had imposed on it, and to make it an all-round farm after the model of Benshemen. Yet, from the forced cultivation of the olive at Huldah and Benshemen, many valuable experiences were gathered, and the cultivation as a whole received a great impulse. Many olive-tree plantations are to be found in the present-day settlements. A drag is put on their profitability by the fact that they are best and most quickly picked by children, and child labour is not sufficiently available.

Table-Grapes have also been imported from France in many varieties, and have been planted at Kiryath, Anavim, Nahalal, Ain Harod, and other places.

Besides this spread of the cultivation of oranges and grapes, an important progressive step has been achieved through the planting of *forest-trees* in the Jewish settlements. The first successful attempt in this direction was made by the Rothschild administration, by the introduction of the eucalyptus tree from Australia, and by laying out large groves of these trees near Hederah for the purpose of drying out the neighbouring swamps. Thence the cultivation of this tree, still called the "Jew tree" by the Arabs, has spread to many other Jewish settlements. In addition to the eucalyptus, we must also mention the introduction and planting of nut-pines and stone-pines (*pinus pinea* and *pinus aleppensis*). The introduction of these forest trees is of great importance to Palestine, for that country, said to have been richly wooded a century ago, has been completely deforested during the period of Turkish sovereignty,

and is now forced to import wood as fuel. The realisation of the importance of forest trees has during the last few years become so widespread that it is now taken as a matter of course that the planting of such trees must go hand in hand with the founding of a new colony.

Another success has been achieved in the cultivation of *vegetables*. Twenty years ago scoffers said very rightly that vegetables could be obtained everywhere in Palestine except in the Jewish colonies. And indeed, the Jewish colonist of that time thought the cultivation of vegetables petty and unprofitable, and preferred to buy his vegetables from neighbouring Arab villages. It was certainly somewhat difficult to remove this disinclination towards the cultivation of vegetables, but after the first attempts had been made during the years 1910—1911 in the farm Kinereth, others soon followed. The growing of vegetables received a great impulse during the Great War, during which food was scarce, and high prices were paid for vegetables. Numbers of people, especially girls, acquired knowledge of this particular branch of agriculture, which to-day plays an important part in all settlements. Farms with much watered land, for instance Kinereth, Ain Harod and Nahalal, are to-day great centres of production of vegetables. Arab merchants go there in order to buy vegetables for the city markets. The position has been completely reversed: the Arab *buys to-day* where previously he was wont to *sell*.

The cultivation of *bananas* and of *tobacco* has recently been introduced into the country and is worth mentioning. The banana seems to thrive well in the valley of the Jordan and in the Eastern part of the Emek Yezreel. It is, however, questionable whether the Palestinian market requires the production of large quantities of bananas, and whether it will be possible to compete against the bananas of other countries, *e.g.*, Egyptian and Syrian. After the Turkish monopolies were removed in 1922, the production of tobacco developed

and increased extraordinarily rapidly. In 1923 the total crops of all the Jewish settlements put together amounted to about 100,000 kilogrammes to the value of £20,000 ; in 1924 to 750,000 kilogrammes, valued at £150,000. It is quite possible that this rapid development has been too precipitate, that in many parts of Palestine the tobacco is somewhat poor in quality, and that many of the cultivators lack the necessary experience. Thus we must be prepared for reverses and set-backs during the next few years. It seems certain, however, that the production of tobacco will some day constitute an important part of Palestinian agriculture.

Attempts have been made to cultivate *flax* and to produce *beet* and *corn sugar* with a view to the possible construction of a sugar factory ; they are, however, not sufficiently advanced to permit a comprehensive view of their prospects.

A branch of agriculture in which the Jewish settlers are still backward is the cultivation of summer grain, such as durrha or sesame. This is caused by the fact that the labour of women and children is necessary for certain kinds of work in the cultivation of this grain, such as the rooting out of weeds, or the collecting of the sesame fruit. This cheap labour is unfortunately lacking in our new settlements. Besides which the proceeds from sesame and durrha are small and dependent on the late rains. Sheep-rearing and horse-breeding in the Jewish settlements are still in their infancy.

On the whole it is possible to say that the Jewish settler is a much more versatile and comprehensive agriculturist than he was fifteen years ago. With the exception of a few colonies, such as Petah Tikva and Rishon-le-Zion, which still work exclusively vine and orange plantation, the transitional steps to mixed farming have everywhere been accomplished. Thus the risk of failure has been greatly diminished ; unless some extremely bad harvests occur, the land can at least

support the settlers. But it is also important that the settler has turned his energies more towards the *greatest production* than towards the best possibilities of sale, and has thus changed from a semi-commercial owner of plantations or land into a *farmer, who not only owns the land, but also tills it.*

CHAPTER III.

THE PERSONAL WORK OF THE COLONISTS.

Besides the differences which we have already enumerated, the most important mark of distinction of the new Zionist settlement is the introduction of the *principle of personal labour* of the settler. In the old colonies it was the custom for the settlers to hire Arab labourers to work on the land while the settlers themselves shared the work only in very rare instances. Usually they devoted their attention only to the sale of the produce and the supervision and general arrangement of the work. In some colonies the settlers and their sons at least drove their carts themselves and helped in the cutting and grafting and other easier kinds of work ; in others they scarcely ever saw their farm, which they part-leased to Arab tenants who cultivated it. The colonists as a whole disliked agricultural work. If they happened to be too poor to employ Arab labourers for the more difficult kinds of work, they felt this an indignity and a misfortune. In nearly all the old colonies the number of hired Arab labourers exceeded that of the Jewish settlers. These conditions were helped on by the low rate of wages of the Arab labourer and by the fact that he usually knew more about agriculture than his Jewish employer. The wages were amazingly low ; a man received on an average one franc a day, women half of that, and children less still.

There is thus no need to wonder if the Jewish colonist did not consider it "worth his while" to work himself. Indeed, rather than do without a hired labourer he would lower his own standard of life.

In the years 1905—1914 many Jewish labourers immigrated into Palestine from Eastern Europe. They found that the colonies, being provided with plenty of cheap labour, did not seem to need them, and naturally enough a bitter struggle ensued. The Jewish labourers demanded that Jewish labour whenever available should be employed in preference to native. This demand for "Avodah Tehorah" appeared again and again in the Labour press. It can only be rightly understood if considered as the result of the bitterness against the prevailing system, which employed nearly exclusively Arab labour, and indeed did not even admit Jewish labourers to the colonies. During the last two years a certain limited number of Jews have found employment in colonies, and the cry for "Avodah Tehorah" has been less in the foreground. But another demand has grown stronger and stronger, namely that in future all colonisation should be arranged in such a way that the colonist should be able to do all the work himself or with the aid of his family, and that no hired labour, whether it be Arab or Jewish, should exist.

The new settlements are called "Moshav," in contrast to the old type "Moshava," the difference in names denoting the difference between the new type where the settler works himself and the old where he engaged paid labour.

If the principle of personal labour of the settler is interpreted so as to mean that the settler should himself perform every kind of work in his farm, the principle is good and sound. But if interpreted so as to mean that he must not take in helpers under any circumstances, it is quite questionable whether this extreme demand will be of any use to Jewish colonisation. How can young men learn this trade if employment in farms, the best

training possible, is not open to them? It must also be taken into account that there are certain periods of the year during which so much work is to be done that the settler cannot do everything himself and abstain from employing any additional hands without considerable loss. Why should he be compelled to suffer this loss instead of hiring paid labour?

Probably this principle will not be interpreted in such a narrow way. In that case it will be of the greatest importance. While the settlers in the old colonies were depressed and listless, the cult of labour has brought gaiety and self-respect into the new settlements. The strong commercial spirit which has made such great traders of the Jews during the last few centuries lies still latent in many settlers, and tends to turn them from the hard tasks of agriculture to easier avenues to wealth. Only if the settlers are tied to the land by their own labour can this spirit be successfully and permanently expelled, and unless this is done, Jewish agriculture and colonisation are built upon foundations of sand.

But the principle of personal labour is also important in another respect. In all countries there are to-day strong differences between landowners and their labourers, differences which have often led to conflict and even bloodshed. No people is less suited to this system than the Jews, who recognise no divine right to rule. In the case of some nations, whose history is marked by invasions of foreign conquerors, a nobility of the conquering nation has developed, which has for centuries ruled over the rest of the people, and has effectively separated itself from it by a rigorous caste system. The social barriers were further strengthened through the fact that the nobility owned all the land. With the growth and development of towns, a class of wealthy citizens, developing into a citizen aristocracy, joined itself to the landed nobility. Between the nobility and wealthy citizen aristocracy on the one hand

and the mass of the people, the dependent peasants and labourers on the other, a deep and nearly impassable gap existed. Time consolidated these class differences until the conscience of the people accepted them as something lasting and inevitable. The Jews were always an exception to this rule. Scattered as they were, no real class differences developed among them; the oppression from outside brought them all down to the same level. The differences that existed between rich and poor were accidental and not lasting. Riches were founded not on safe ownership of land, but on success in trade, always a risky occupation. He who was rich to-day might be poor to-morrow, and he who was poor to-day might hope to become rich another day. These conditions have brought it about that at least up to the beginning of the XIXth century, the Jewish nation was divided by differences of class and wealth to a less degree than any other nation. During the last century also among the Jews a number of families have sprung up who have kept their wealth intact for several generations, and have invested it not only in commerce, but also in landed property. Thus the democratic arrangement and the equality of the people have been slightly impaired. But the old conditions still remain practically unaltered among the Jews of Eastern Europe, and make it extremely difficult for the Jew to be any man's servant. In the case of any other nation, where differences of class and wealth are considered as unchangeable and inevitable as the seasons of the year, it seems only natural to the poorer classes that they should be servants of the rich, their superiors. The Jew, on the other hand, never considers himself one of the lower classes. If he is poor, he considers this contrary to normal conditions. Even if he has entered into a lengthy period of personal service, he considers it ridiculous that he should for this reason always identify himself with a serving class. This is shown clearly by the fact that it is practically impossible to induce

Jewish girls to take up positions as domestic servants. But even the Jewish farm-hand or factory worker will only in very rare cases be content to remain a paid labourer all his life. He will always aim at freeing himself from these conditions of dependency, and at striking out and trying his luck independently. It would therefore be hopeless to attempt to turn East-European Jews in Palestine permanently into paid agricultural labourers, for they will always rebel against it. They may go into service occasionally, but only in order to acquire a knowledge of agriculture (even for that purpose they prefer working in a "Kvutzah" to working with an individual farmer). As soon as they have acquired sufficient experience they will aim at being independent. All this is shown clearly by the experience of the Zionist Organisation in connection with the houses and homes for labourers built in the colonies, and the special settlements for labourers migrating from Eastern Europe which were constructed immediately outside the colonies. Though some labourers lived for some time in these houses, they always left them again, for houses without any land attached to them did not attract them in the least. In the settlements for labourers, where each settler possessed 10—15 dunam of land in addition to his little house, the desire for independence came out in the way in which the labourers tried to turn their small areas of land into farms in order to be independent of service. This was certainly not a satisfactory solution, for the areas were too small entirely to provide for their owner. Thus, though they were no longer mere paid labourers, neither were they independent farmers. Only after additional areas of land near the colonies had been acquired, and after a proper irrigation system had made an intensive cultivation of the land possible, were most labourers able to support themselves from their own farms. But at the same time they ceased to be labourers. Thus we cannot hope to succeed in creating a labouring class from our

East-European immigrants. The lack of such a class makes it necessary either to suffer the employment of non-Jewish labourers, or to arrange colonisation in such a way that the settlers and his family can perform all the work of a farm themselves.

Taking into consideration the principles of mixed farming and personal labour, the area which a settler with his family can cultivate consists on the average of 100 dunam of unwatered land (about 9 hectares). It is a much smaller area than those allotted to settlers in the colonies of the I.C.A. in Lower Galilee, where each colonist, devoting himself exclusively to grain cultivation, owns about 250 dunam. The present average of 100 dunam may be slightly on the small side, especially in the case of land already much exploited, perhaps an average of 130—140 dunam may be necessary for a settler, at least during his first few years *. On the other hand, in districts where the soil is very fertile, or where the nearness of a large town enables the settler to obtain good prices for his produce, the area may be reduced to 50 dunam. And in areas where sufficient water can be obtained at little cost, and where there is either sufficient capital available for the establishment of an orange plantation, or good possibilities of sale of vegetables and dairy produce, an area of from 15 to 20 dunam can be sufficient to sustain a family of settlers and provide them with work during the whole year.

The present-day settlers are no less intelligent than the earlier colonists, and they have the same Jewish mentality, *i.e.*, that same mental mobility and the same esteem for learning and the cultivation of the mind. This mentality is inseparable from the life and soul of the Jew. But it can be guided into another channel,

* Professor Gilmore, of Berkeley University, California, when asked for his views by Professor Elwood Mead, estimated 40 dunam as the irreducible minimum in size of the unwatered farm in Palestine. In Russia the Jewish settlers now colonised on Government land in the Ukraine and the Crimea received from 10 to 50 Desjatins (110 to 330 dunam) according to the quality of the soil.

namely that of an elevation and hallowing of agricultural work. While the soul of the earlier settlers was in no way connected with agriculture, which they regarded only as their means of existence, while they sought their ideals elsewhere, and modelled their schools on European state-schools, the conditions in the new settlements are entirely different. The new settlers look upon agriculture not only as the means of existence, but as the source of new national life. They feel that they are laying the foundations of a new Jewish community in Palestine, and that an immense responsibility rests on them, the founders and creators. The monotonous labour behind the plough is connected by many fine-spun threads with the distant future, in which the work will be continued by new generations of free Jewish peasants, increased a hundred times in number, continuing on the lines on which their fathers, the settlers of the present day, have started. It is this spirit of respect and esteem of agricultural labour which marks the new school-system. He who cannot realise all this, who cannot perceive, while visiting the settlements of the Emek Yezreel, the ardent national enthusiasm which lies behind all these agricultural activities, and without which the latter could not possibly subsist, who does not see and appreciate the new type of man, the Jewish peasant, will never understand our work of colonisation.

And finally, one more thing: If we are accused all over the world, as we have been accused and still are, that we are not producers, but mere middlemen and parasites, we cannot disprove this accusation by saying that we are *landowners*.

There are also many Jewish landowners in Poland. We must not only own the land, but also *till it in the sweat of our brow*, and thus show the world that there are mighty forces latent in us, which only need suitable conditions in order to spring again to new life.

CHAPTER IV.

EQUALITY OF RIGHTS OF THE SETTLERS AND OF THE COLONISATION COMPANY.

There are three modes of relationship between a colonisation company which finances colonisation, and the settlers.

(1) The company is the prime mover in the colonisation, the settlers merely the instrument.

(2) The company and the settlers are both prime movers of and partners in colonisation, and must therefore both enjoy equal rights.

(3) The settlers are the prime movers in the colonisation, the company merely its instrument and means.

Of these modes the first was adopted during the Rothschild administration. The officials of Baron Rothschild decided independently of the settler how the latter was to work and live ; settlers had no say whatsoever in the matter. They were merely the object of the activities of the administration. This system of tutelage, against which Ahad Haam directed his criticisms twenty five years ago, has several manifest drawbacks ; it deadens the settler's initiative and creative impulse, and it robs him of all feeling of responsibility, for it is only too easy for him to blame the organisation of the administration for his own failure or want of success. These shortcomings of this system of rigid administration and centralisation are not counterbalanced

by the fact that through this system a uniformity of control can at least on paper be obtained, and that no heed need be taken of conflicting wishes and claims of different settlers.

The second alternative, namely, that the company and the settlers should be equal partners in the work of colonisation, is the alternative which the Zionist Organisation chose right at the outset of its colonisation. The choice was fully justified, if one considers the motives which brought our young men from Eastern Europe to Palestinian agriculture. They cannot be material motives, for nearly all of the immigrants must suffer a considerable lowering of their standard of life. While a Palestinian labourer may on the average earn twenty piastres or one dollar a day, he could, in say, California earn with the same amount of effort five dollars a day, of which he could put by four dollars. In Palestine, on the other hand, he cannot make any savings worth mentioning, and though California be closed to him through the new immigration restrictions, there are always countries (Western Europe, South America, Australia), where intelligent and sturdy young people can obtain better wages than in Palestine. This is shewn by the fact that for the last twenty or thirty years tens of thousands of Arabs from the Lebanon, and a smaller number from the Christian cities of Palestine, such as Bethlehem and Ramallah, have emigrated to North and South America. Most of these immigrants had been agriculturally employed in Palestine. They love their native country well, for many of them return to Palestine or the Lebanon after they have earned sufficient money in America, whether in agriculture or otherwise. The cause of this emigration lies in the poor conditions of labour. The young peasants of the Lebanon, although famous for their power of endurance, their energy and their efficiency, cannot ever make any savings; in America, however they can earn a considerable fortune in the course of ten or

twenty years. The money which they send back or take back with them into their country enables them to build beautiful houses, and to buy plantations, all of which they could never have done had they remained in their native country.

If our young immigrants come to Palestine, and in spite of everything cling to agriculture, it is for idealist reasons, because of the knowledge that agriculture is the essential basis for a new Jewish national home in Palestine. If this knowledge, if this idealist enthusiasm should cease to exist, there would be nothing to prevent them from leaving the country, and from seeking more profitable enterprises elsewhere in the same way as the youth of the old colonies emigrated twenty years ago. And nothing could be more destructive to this enthusiasm of your young people who were brought up on democratic principles, than a system of administration which restricts their power and makes them merely the object of colonisation. All who have visited the country are without exception full of admiration for the men and women who work on the land, for their enthusiasm, their endurance, and their willingness to make sacrifices. Yet only very few can realise that this enthusiasm could die a very quick death among the hardships and toil of agricultural life if the settlers were not continually fired anew by the consciousness that they are working as creative and equal partners side by side with the colonisation company. Only those who have witnessed the depression and listlessness which existed in the old colonies under the administrative system, and can now compare it with the ardent spirit of enthusiasm of the new settlements, can understand the importance of the changes which the Zionist Organisation has introduced. It cannot be maintained that the settlers of to-day have more enthusiasm than those first settlers who came to Palestine in the days of the Hoveve Zion, for in that respect the latter were absolutely first-class material, comparable to the best Halutzim of to-day; nevertheless

they became weak, unenterprising and morose under the old system of administration. *We ought therefore to regard their enthusiasm as the most precious thing of all which we have created during fifteen years of Zionist colonisation.* It would be a total misconstruction of the prevailing conditions, if we were to lay down the principle that the Zionist Organisation, which finances the whole undertaking, should also have the power to give orders to the settlers, and, using the settlers merely as instruments, to direct and govern agricultural colonisation. We must always remember that our young men could find much better conditions of life in the Palestinian towns and conditions still better outside the country than they have found in the agricultural settlements where the struggle for life is hard and full of difficulties. There is only one correct view of the case, namely that those Zionists who have sacrificed money for the reconstruction of Palestine, and those others who have gone to the country itself and have thereby sacrificed all the comforts of an easy life, who have sometimes sacrificed even their health, *must depend on each other* for the achievement of the ideals of Zionism, and should therefore work together as equal partners, enjoying the same rights and privileges. The Zionist who wishes to resurrect Zion by sacrifice of money needs the Halutz for the execution of this task, while the latter is in need of the capital of the wealthy Zionist to finance agricultural colonisation. And there can be no question that the Halutz who comes to Palestine to risk not only his own health and life, but also the future of his children, has a greater share in the reconstruction of a Jewish National Home than the rich Zionist who merely sacrifices a certain percentage of his income for this purpose.

From these facts the following conclusion must needs be drawn : we cannot make any progress in agriculture by driving on unwilling settlers, but only by working in harmony with them. All orders and regulations of the colonisation company are absolutely useless,

if the settlers are not themselves convinced of their justness and utility. In other words, the company must recognise that the settlers can be guided by *intelligent aid and instruction*, but never by command. The company cannot and must not try to break the will of the settler by force, but should try to guide it in the right direction by patience, by instruction and by practical demonstration, even though this way may be slow and tedious. It is nevertheless the only possible way and is all the more easy as our settlers, though they may be no great agriculturists, are yet idealists ready to meet all difficulties. As long as these sentiments endure, and it is one of the main duties of the body responsible for colonisation to encourage and preserve them, it will be possible to eliminate all unsuitable elements. It must be understood, however, that the transition of Jews from East European town life to agriculture in Palestine must be a long process, and that we can only expect the second generation who will enjoy the advantage of agricultural surroundings from their infancy onwards, to be "hundred per cent. farmers." Just as a person who speaks a language as his mother-tongue will always possess an advantage over another who has acquired this language later in life and retains a recognisable foreign accent, it cannot in the same way be avoided that the Halutzim who have for the last twenty years been coming into Palestinian agriculture from Eastern Europe should retain certain foreign elements and impressions of the time of the Galuth. This, though easy to criticise, is extremely difficult or even impossible to alter.

The third mode, *i.e.*, that the settlers should be the prime movers in colonisation and the company merely the instrument though the eventual aim of all our activities, has not yet been regarded as possible. For its realisation three conditions are necessary :

(1) That agriculture in Palestine should be profitable and provides the settlers with more than the bare

necessities of life ; (2) That the settlers, having received agricultural training can, by their knowledge and experience, give reasonable promise of success ; (3) That the settlers possess a certain minimum capital of their own to cover the risks of failure.

If these conditions have once been fulfilled, the colonisation company can safely be reduced to the position of an agrarian bank. The settlers will thus no longer be dependent on the company, will appear on the money market as equals of the capitalists, and will procure their money requirements from this bank or even from some other. There will no longer be any question about the exact sum of money which the settlers are to receive or not to receive, but only a question of the *rate of interest* at which the money will be advanced. But this epoch has not yet been reached in Palestine, for of the three essential conditions only a part of the second condition has so far been fulfilled.

In the foregoing we have always understood by settlers the young Halutzim without means, because until a short while ago it was exceptional for people with means to desire to take up agricultural work in Palestine. Not until the second half of the year 1924 did an immigration of Jews, chiefly from Poland, set in, which was desirous of settling on farms, and which possessed a part of the means necessary thereto, about £500. They are almost all of mature age, mostly tradesmen, industrial workers and craftsmen without a preparatory training in agriculture. This is the first time that monied immigrants have come to Palestine with a genuine intention to become farmers, and it is important that their money and their good resolutions should be turned to the best use for the colonisation of Palestine. But it is clear that the settling of these heads of families, coming from middle-class surroundings, cannot proceed in conformity with the lines laid down for colonising Halutzim. The hardships and self-denials we can look for from Halutzim are not to be thought of in the case

of these older men. This opens up a number of new problems, with which we will deal separately in Chapter XVII.

CHAPTER V.

THE INTERNAL AUTONOMY OF THE SETTLERS.

In addition to many other difficulties, Jewish immigration into Palestine presents one which is not found in Jewish immigration into other countries, *e.g.*, the U.S.A. In America the immigrant Jew meets a fixed order of society, in comparison with which he is so impotent that he has no choice but to adapt himself to that order as best he can. He must adapt himself to the economic system, to the class differences, to the social standards of America, and the force and attraction of the American economic body are so great that his surrender is purely automatic. Yet even here the assimilation does not take place immediately, but only in the course of ten or twenty years. During the period of transition the Jews crowd together in districts of their own, such as the East Side in New York, districts which present a social and economic mixture between the systems and customs of the old country and the new. They are the melting pot, where the Jew must strip himself of many habits and traditions of which he had grown very fond, till finally he emerges a man of different views and appearance, and more or less takes his place in American society.

In Palestine there is no powerful fixed social system which can inspire the Jewish immigrant with awe. He

will therefore either be inclined to continue to live in the same way as he lived in his old country, or, if he finds this too difficult, he will attempt to create new social forms. The first alternative, that of rigid adherence to the forms of intercourse, the home life, the dress, and the habits and customs of the old country, can be observed in the Jewish settlements in the towns, where these qualities often clash sadly with their Eastern surroundings. The social and economic life of the Jews in Eastern Europe has been moulded by the fact that a Jewish minority lives side by side with a non-Jewish majority, and has fitted itself into this majority as merchants and artisans, as buyers and sellers. This class of occupations is by its nature individualistic, since merchants and artisans must compete with each other for their customers. These conditions resemble conditions in the Jewish quarters of Palestinian towns, with the one difference, that in the latter the Jews must to a greater extent be their own customers.

In the agricultural settlements, where the conditions were essentially different from those of the old countries, the Jewish immigrants were obliged to choose the second alternative, namely that of breaking with the past and creating new social and economic forms of life. Thus they became producers and lost all the characteristics of a trading population. While in the latter competition with other traders is essential, a single agricultural producer is always weak and often unable to hold his own singly because he can neither buy any large modern machinery nor organise the market for the sale of his produce. The remedy is co-operation with other producers.

Apart from this, the Jews who founded the first agricultural colonies far from the towns exposed themselves knowingly thereby to grave dangers. Inexperienced in agriculture, unversed in the native tongue, unaccustomed to the climate, and not knowing the ways of the country, they felt from the beginning that weakness

which comes from isolation, and the desire for keeping together. "Unity gives power to the weak." A communal life soon took shape in these isolated country settlements. A committee (Vaad), selected by the settlers, undertook the most important duties of control. It looked after the schools, the water supply, the policing, synagogue, doctor and apothecary ; it levied taxes, kept a Land Registry Book, and represented the settlers in all negotiations with the Government (*e.g.*, for payment of the tithe), or with the colonising companies (*e.g.*, for the raising of loans). The effects of this communal partnership penetrated also into the private life of the settler. Later there arose co-operative unions for special economic purposes, such as a society of the Jewish vine-dressers for the industry of the great vineyards in Rishon-le-Zion and Zicron Jacob, the union of the orange-growers in the company "Pardess," and the almond-growers in the Company "Shaked," all for the common sale of their produce.

In the Zionist settlements this tendency towards a co-operative life was intensified. It was already strong in settlers who came from Russia, and gradually they worked out two new social systems : one, that of a collective cultivation of the land, of common ownership of land and buildings, and of equality of wages, known as the *Kvutzah-system*, and the other, that of individual ownership tempered by co-operation in the cultivation of the land, *e.g.*, by the use of common machinery, in the utilisation of the produce (*e.g.*, common dairy works), and in the purchase and sale of everything essential to the settlers. The settlements which have adopted this system are called *Moshve Ovdim*. The *Kvutzah* has split into two separate forms, the large and the small *Kvutzah*. The latter's characteristic is that it contains a nucleus of members, all connected with each other from youth onwards by ties of relationship, friendship, and common origin. Thus it is a system founded on families, and on the personal relations of individuals,

things which are lacking in the large Kvutzah, where new members are accepted according to current requirements and change of membership is much more frequent. The large Kvutzah tends to go beyond agriculture and to satisfy, without recourse to the outside world, as many wants of its members as possible. Thus it can include artisans, such as tailors, cobblers, joiners, smiths, etc., and even a doctor, a dentist, a veterinary surgeon, a teacher, and an engineer, provided that all submit to the guiding principle of the Kvutzah, namely that all members should have equal claims for the satisfaction of their wants. A special form of the large Kvutzah, the "Gedud" (Workmen's Squad) has developed this system to an even greater degree, for it includes both agricultural and town labourers, and its members are moved from the country into the town, or vice versa, according to the oscillations in the demand for labour.

All these new social formations are of so recent a date that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to give a final verdict on their virtues and drawbacks. The Zionist Organisation in its colonising activities has not identified itself with any special system, *but has rather considered it its duty to admit and support all new social formations seriously desired by a large number of settlers, to which no manifest economic drawbacks were attached.* Thus one finds among the settlements supported by the Organisation not only old colonies such as Katrah and Kastinieh, but also Moshve Ovdim and small and large Kvutzoth. This attitude of the Zionist Organisation is based on the belief that it would be mistaken policy to try to dictate to the settlers how they are to live ; it is they themselves who will be obliged to spend their lives in the settlements and who will in the first place be concerned with all the advantages and disadvantages of the system they have chosen. We can safely trust their intelligence to decide on the system that will most benefit them. Yet it is obvious that any

one social system will not appeal to all settlers. Everywhere in the world there are individualists and socialists. Palestine is no exception, and some will, therefore, find the Moshav, others the Kvutzah more suitable and attractive. The Zionist Organisation cannot do better than judge these new social formations in the light of practical experience, which alone can show up their shortcomings and the ways and means of remedying them.

The question of the social system of the settlement has been allotted too important a part in the discussion of our whole work of colonisation, probably because outside observers found the joint habitation and joint life of a number of men and women of greater interest than mere technical details of the work.

But in reality the success or failure of our colonisation depends much less on the finding of a suitable system of society for our settlements, than on the finding of a system of agriculture which will appeal to the mentality of the Jewish immigrant, which will be desirable from a national point of view, and lastly, which will pay its way. If the problem of the best system of agriculture has once been solved, there need be no fear about the problem of the best system of society. As all settlements are approximately run on lines of mixed farming, personal labour, etc., and as there are both Kvuzoth and Moshve Ovdim among them, it will soon be shown under which social system a settlement will first attain financial success and independence. It will then be merely a question of applying the most successful system to the whole field of our colonisation.

Every European village is guided by the experience of many generations ; continual intermarriage has brought about a certain uniformity of thought and outlook ; the smallest details in the life and conduct of man are regulated by a tradition dating back a thousand and more years. Our settlers, on the other hand, coming into Palestine from different European countries,

do not bring with them traditions of any value. If they are to collaborate in the construction of a settlement, it is clear that *some substitute for this ancient tradition must be found*. Short though our experience in colonisation in Palestine may be, it has nevertheless already proved that unless a settlement possesses a nucleus of homogeneous elements, striving for the same ends and directing the settlement's policy, to which the remaining elements can assimilate themselves, it will either be totally ruined by internal dissensions, or will at least suffer immense harm and loss. *No settlement will prosper if it is merely a mechanical collection of men, arbitrarily brought together by the colonising body,—if it is a union of men without a union of souls*. Inevitably discord will arise among the settlers and hamper all progress. The Kvutzah is the best means of averting this danger, for it provides a natural and organic selection instead of one merely mechanical. By the gradual elimination of all unsuitable elements it provides a nucleus of men with common aims and interests, thus infusing spirit and soul into the colony, and developing laws and traditions for the benefit of later comers. Even the harmonious composition of the settlers in the Moshve Ovdim is, as a rule, only ensured if the settlers have previously worked together in a Kvutzah, and there learnt to know each other as human beings and land workers, and joined together on the strength of that knowledge.

Moreover, it is wrong to think that an unbridgeable gulf exists between the Kvutzah and the individualist settlement. Many transitional forms between the two are quite possible. It is to-day a matter of common knowledge both in America and in Europe, that the old rigid system of isolated rustic farms is no longer the best system, and that co-operation in many branches is essential. The rapid development of co-operation societies in every progressive country is a clear proof that this fact has been realised. In many cases co-operation

exists not only in marketing the produce, but also in cultivating the soil by means of large machines which the farmer cannot afford single-handed, by the use of common irrigation works, etc. Co-operation is thus approaching towards joint cultivation of the land as it exists in the Kvutsoth ; there remains of course the difference that in Europe the land is owned by individuals, in the Kvutsoth by the community. But in the Zionist settlements this difference is of less importance than it would be in Europe because not only in the Kvutsoth, but also in the Moshve Ovdim, the land is not private property of the settler, but is given over to him on hereditary lease by the Jewish National Fund. The most important of the actual differences between the two systems lies in the fact that in the Moshve Ovdim the settler has to depend to a far greater extent on his own ability and good fortune than in the Kvutsoth. If the idle are supported at the expense of the diligent, the collective system may become the curse of the Kvutsoth, but it may become a blessing if by a process of elimination care is taken that all members of the Kvutsoth show the same capacity for work. A misfortune such as a period of illness may prove a hard blow to an individual ; it can be much more easily sustained by a whole community, where losses in one direction can be balanced by gains in another.

The foregoing account of the reasons why the Zionist Organisation grants full autonomy to the settlers in their mode of arranging their lives and has allowed the Kvutsoth system a fair trial would be incomplete without mention of a characteristic trait in the psychology of the Halutzim hailing from Eastern Europe—the close interweaving of national and social ideals. In this endeavour to found a Jewish National Home, the young people, who were ready to take upon themselves all the hardships and dangers incident to the establishment of agricultural settlements in remote malaria-infested districts exposed to marauding attacks, held at the same time social

ideals which were deeply rooted in their natures. Their youth in Russia had been spent in a struggle against the Czarist regime for a better social order. They wanted to set up in Palestine no copy of the capitalist system prevailing in Europe, but to build up a new social life which would be free from the undeniable vices of the capitalist form. This hope, to work together for the social progress of man, has imbued the settlers with great energy and enabled them to overcome the difficulties to which they might otherwise have succumbed. Had one sought to confine them to the old social forms, to hamper them in their searches for and trials of new forms, the source of their enthusiasm would have been destroyed. Without this enthusiasm, however, the Zionist settlements could have been neither established nor maintained, for their first years were replete with the worst possible sufferings. Only by giving the Halutzim the chance to realise their social ideals for themselves was the 'holy enthusiasm' kept alight, which has hitherto been one of the most valuable incentives in the reconstruction of Palestine, lending to it a special consecration.

True, colonisation cannot be built up on enthusiasm alone. Enthusiasm is never to be found but among a minority, and it is ephemeral. But there are reasonable grounds for hoping that the difficulties against which rural colonisation has hitherto fought and still in part fights, are only initial difficulties and will recede when the present settlers acquire more experience, when the population of Palestine increases and her equipment and means of communication improve. It is hoped that at a later stage farming in Palestine will attract those also who no longer have the enthusiasm of the settlers of to-day, and who are wholly or to a large extent guided by economic motives. Until now our settlers have had to be real Halutzim, that is, pioneers. The colonising of new districts has meant their using giant strength to break a way through thorn and thicket and carve

out a path over which the army can follow. The vanguard must ever be otherwise equipped than the baggage train. For the Halutzim, enthusiasm to uphold them in their heroic efforts is indispensable.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURAL INSTRUCTION AND TRAINING.

The Alliance Israelite Universelle showed great insight and great foresight when it decided that the foundation of an agricultural school would be the best means of improving the conditions of Jews in Palestine. Charles Netter came to Palestine on their behalf and founded, in 1870, the agricultural school "Mikveh Israel," near Jaffa. The land was granted by the Sultan of Turkey, who put about two thousand dunam at the disposal of the school. The venture had many ups and downs. At the time when the Zionist Organisation began its colonising activities the number of pupils varied between sixty and eighty. The agricultural instruction suffered from the lack of well-trained teachers and foremen, and from the fact that the directors and teachers, sent from France to Palestine, regarded their stay in Palestine and their position as merely temporary. They taught that which they had learned in other countries, without taking the different conditions of Palestine into account. The result was that pupils who had completed the course of training had little inclination to remain in Palestinian agriculture, but looked on their training principally as a means of obtaining a livelihood *somewhere* in the world. Thus only a comparative minority devoted itself to agriculture in Palestine, while the majority either changed to some other occupation offering better chances, or emigrated

altogether from the country. Only during the last ten years, during which the school has been guided by the present director, has it been realised that it is the fundamental purpose of the school to provide Jewish settlements with well-trained and efficient settlers. The Hebrew tongue has gradually been substituted for French, till then the language of instruction, and a love for Palestine has been infused into the hearts of the pupils. The course of instruction lasts three years, and the number of pupils is at present 150. Thus the school can furnish us with 50 trained settlers each year. It is the only agricultural school for boys actually in existence in Palestine.

In 1923, the Committee for the Orphans of Palestine, founded by the American Joint Distribution Committee, provided, with the aid of South African Jews, accommodation for seventy orphans, both boys and girls, in a school "Givath Yeladim" in the Emek Yezreel, where the pupils were instructed, in addition to their other subjects, in practical agriculture. The Government of Palestine is also about to organise an agricultural school in Tul Kerem from the resources of the Kadoorie Fund. Yet up to now "Mikveh Israel" is the only institution which can provide us with pupils who have completed their course of training. The number, 50, is too small to satisfy the demand of Jewish colonisation.

It is therefore desirable to realise as quickly as possible the above-mentioned plan of founding an Agricultural School (instead of the originally intended Jewish Gymnasium) out of the Kadoorie Bequest. But schools alone will not meet the present need. The school possesses another drawback in that it accepts pupils only up to the age of 15 or 16 years. It is, however, of the greatest importance to Jewish colonisation that the young immigrants from Eastern Europe, who are mostly between 18—25 years of age, should receive agricultural instruction and training. These people, who cannot receive any instruction at schools,

should be enabled to acquire their training through actual experience on farms.

For a certain time attempts were made to provide these young men with practical training in their own countries. Several school farms were accordingly founded for this purpose. They were certainly useful, in that they accustomed young men to physical labour, to the handling of horses and cows, etc. Yet, because of the climatic and other differences between Palestine and Central and Eastern Europe, the instruction proved insufficient for the purposes of Palestinian agriculture. Its usefulness was further diminished by the fact that many young men, enthusiastic and impatient to come to Palestine, did not complete their course of training, but emigrated to Palestine after one or two years. In Palestine their insufficient training was often of more harm than use, for although they considered themselves fully trained colonists as opposed to other Halutzim, who had received no instruction whatever, they often failed grievously when entrusted with independent work. Agricultural instruction outside Palestine could certainly be useful if it were possible to provide it in countries such as Italy, California or North Africa, where the climatic and other conditions resemble those of Palestine. The distance, however, of these countries from Eastern Europe, not to speak of the difficulty of language, makes such a scheme extremely difficult if not altogether impossible. Everything points to the fact that agricultural instruction for the Halutzim must be provided in Palestine itself.

This leaves us with two possibilities, namely, either to introduce and accommodate the Halutzim as labourers in settlements already in existence, or to construct new training colonies for the benefit of the newcomers.

It was customary in the old colonies to let most of the physical work be done by paid Arab labourers. These conditions were fatal to the young Jewish labourers

who had been immigrating in small numbers since the year 1905. They could not compete with the Arab labourers, because they were inferior to them in agricultural knowledge and staying-power, because they suffered much more from the climate and diseases of the country, and because they could not descend to the primitive level of the Arab fellah. And, in addition, the pay which the Arab receives in the Jewish colonies plays for him merely the part of *additional and incidental earnings*. In a neighbouring village he possesses his own house, his own little piece of land, his own cattle, which satisfy his few wants and which are tended in his absence by his wife and children. Thus he is able to lower his rate of wages in the Jewish colonies to a level at which the Jewish labourer, who is obliged entirely to support himself from the wages he receives, can neither exist nor compete any longer. A still further handicap of the Jewish labourer is the fact that in many colonies there are certain periods during the year where there is no work to be done ; during such periods the Arab can support himself from his own little farm, while the Jewish labourer has no earnings whatever. These conditions brought about the result that in spite of the best of will and enthusiasm the young immigrants from Russia and Poland could not obtain a footing in agriculture. They asked for work everywhere and were everywhere refused. Only very few managed, at times when conditions were very bad, to obtain at least temporary work in the colonies. And even then they suffered not only from the insufficient pay, but also from the lack of accommodation, since the colonies were only in very rare instances provided with dwellings for labourers.

Naturally, these workmen, who had come into the country spurred by a national enthusiasm, and found themselves now, when their hopes should have been realised, cut off from all active employment, were deeply embittered and exasperated. In the Yishuv in Palestine

it was widely felt that the prevailing conditions were anomalous, that a way must be found to introduce Jewish labour into Jewish colonies, and so to pave the way for enlarging the old colonies and establishing new ones. Many ways of achieving this end were proposed, but only three were actually attempted by the Palestine Office (founded in 1908 by the Zionist Organisation). These three were :—

(1) The building of both single houses and common dwellings for workmen in the colonies. It was thought that if the workmen could obtain better accommodation and joint board they would have a greater chance of maintaining themselves in the colonies. Houses for workmen's families and homes for unmarried workmen were accordingly constructed in 1910 in Petah Tikvah and Hederah. Similarly, the Odessa Committee founded near Petah Tikvah a workmen's settlement, "Ain Ganim," where each workman received about ten dunam of land in addition to his little house.

(2) The transplantation of Jews from Yemen (South Arabia) to Palestine. It was assumed that the Yemenite Jews, hardened and accustomed to an exacting climate, would be better able to work in the colonies under the customary conditions. The Yemenite Jews were therefore informed by the Palestine Office in 1910, when they were suffering from political and religious persecution, that they would be able to find employment in Palestine. As a result about 2,000 Yemenites, including women and children, immigrated into Palestine, and settled partly in the towns, partly in the colonies Petah Tikvah, Hederah, Rishon-le-Zion and Rehobot.

Neither of these two attempts has been entirely without its use. The Yemenites in the colonies have remained paid labourers. They have had special settlements assigned to them in the colonies Hederah, Petah Tikvah, Rishon-le-Zion, and Rehobot, and have been able to maintain themselves as labourers in these colonies, although suffering greatly at periods of unemployment.

Compared with the Ashkenazic Jews, they possess smaller powers of insight and organisation. It would thus be extremely difficult for them to undertake independent work. Yet even they are not satisfied with the two or three dunam of land which each possesses at present, and it is possible that the rising generation may be able to acquire the qualities lacking in the present settlers.

The construction of houses, homes and settlements for East European labourers removed the difficulties of accommodation, yet could not by itself enable Jewish labourers to compete on equal terms with the Arabs. There were times when there were no Jewish labourers in the colonies, and when the homes were empty and presented a picture of desolation. Yet the houses were always an attraction and constituted an opportunity of obtaining a footing in the colonies. The Labour press in the meantime continually declared that it was the national duty of the colonists to employ Jewish labour. Gradually this agitation was rewarded by small successes. The number of Jewish labourers, which in 1908 amounted to only 200, rose by 1921 to 1,000 (including the Yemenites), and at the present day (end of 1924), is about 2,600. It must be admitted, however, that of that number 800 labourers are employed in the cultivation of tobacco, of which it is not known whether and to what extent it will continue to exist. The 2,600 labourers are divided among the different regions as follows :

Upper Galilee ..	32
Lower Galilee (Yemmah	
180)	235
Samaria (Zicron Jacob	
150, Hederah 480	805
Judaea (Petah Tikvah	
800, Rehobot 230,	
Ness Zionah 150)	1516
	2588

They are divided into the following occupations :

Working partly for themselves (tobacco and vegetables) ..	400
Tobacco cultivation . . .	800
Orange plantations and other permanent occupations	700
Other occupations (mostly daily pay)	700

In addition to these Jewish labourers several thousands of Arabs are also employed ; the latter receive about 8—10 piastres a day, while the Jewish labourers are paid about 15 piastres for similar work.

The greater penetration of Jewish workers into the rural settlements in the last year or two was made possible by the labourers organising themselves into groups of 10 and 20 and up to 100 and 200 members as "Chabura" or "Pluga," and undertaking agricultural labour, specially in plantations, as *piecework*. The Zionist Organisation aided them by providing them with temporary accommodation, *e.g.*, tents and barracks, and by advancing them sums of money from the funds of the Keren Hayesod for the purposes of constructing a communal kitchen, acquiring tools and draught animals, and sometimes also for their own little milk and vegetable farm. During the year 1923—1924 about 1,000 workmen were thus accommodated in the colonies at a cost of £3,000. The Keren Hayesod has assigned £8,000 for this purpose for the year 1924—1925, and there are hopes that the number of workmen employed may thus be increased to 4,000. The colonists prefer to let their work be done as piece work, instead of employing daily labour, since they are thus spared constant supervision of the work and all the conflicts arising therefrom, and are moreover obliged to pay only for the actual work done. The workmen also prefer this system of labour, as it grants them a

greater extent of independence, and also enables members of a group to change from one branch of the work to another, a thing most important for the agricultural training of the labourers.

Important as it may be that the young immigrant should in this way acquaint himself with practical agriculture, it must not be overlooked that this system of groups and piece-work has proved itself applicable only in the plantations and in the cultivation of tobacco, and that therefore the training and experience of the immigrant must needs remain very one-sided. He acquires no knowledge of grain cultivation, of dairy, poultry or vegetable farming. He grows accustomed to physical labour, he learns how to handle a hoe and sometimes even a plough and horses; but these things, although very useful, are yet far removed from the all-round training and experience that can be acquired in a good European or American farm. Outside the plantations, paid labourers are employed in much smaller numbers in the wheat-growing colonies of Lower Galilee, where the standard of agriculture is so primitive, that experience acquired in these colonies is of little use to the labourer, if he is ever independently to apply modern methods.

As regards versatility and thoroughness, it cannot be doubted that the training received in the Kvutzoth is far superior to that acquired in the course of work done in the colonies. This is so mainly because the Kvutzah employs the system of mixed farming, and because all members take it in turns to perform the different branches of the work. As it lies in the interests of every Kvutzah to possess at least one specially experienced and efficient member for each branch of its activities, the newcomer can always hope for expert instruction. As an equal partner within a group, the workman enjoys greater facilities for the development of independent thought and action; he can work with a joy of creation, since he can look upon the work he

performs as work of his own, not of his employer. Thus he is stirred to greater efforts, as shown by the fact that while everywhere else the workmen insist on an eight-hour day, that question has never been raised in the Kvutzah. Nearly all the colonists who have settled definitely under the supervision of the Zionist Organisation, including the settlers in the Moshve Ovdim, have passed through the school of the Kvutzah, where they received their agricultural training.

It is especially gratifying to see with what great care the new settlers educate and train their children for agriculture. The health of the children is the first care. While the settlers themselves are ready to suffer all hardships in their struggle with the land and the climate, they regard their children's health and education as sacred. In localities infected by malaria they try to remove the children during the bad periods of the year to a healthy spot in the neighbourhood. Every child is sure to receive a sufficient quantity of milk. Even the smallest settlement possesses a school and a kindergarten. In most of the settlements, mothers working out of doors during the day are freed from the care of their children, as the latter are in the charge of trained nurses during the day and in some cases even during the night. Thus the nursing and education of the children lie in experienced hands, and the possibility of their going amiss is still further decreased because they are constantly supervised by the whole settlement. Thus it is not so important whether the mother has insight and ability to follow and direct the development of her child, and things are better than in other countries, where many suffer all their lives from insufficient or wrong guidance received during childhood.

All this is nothing out of the common from the Jewish point of view, for Jewish parents all over the world are famous for the untiring care and attention which they devote to their children. Yet education received in Palestine differs from education received

elsewhere in that it tends *to train the children for agriculture and for Palestine*. There have always been schools in the Jewish colonies. Under the old system, however, these schools, where instruction was given mostly in French or German, formed a foreign body in the life of the colony and had no organic connection with agriculture. This was caused by the fact that in most cases the colonists themselves were not attached to the land by economic or sentimental reasons, and were not displeased when education opened up new possibilities to their children. This brought about the sad conditions prevailing 15 or 20 years ago, when Zionist colonisation was in its beginnings, and when the youth of the old colonies had no permanent attachment to the soil of Palestine. Whenever possible, parents had sent their sons into the towns of Palestine or to the Universities of the outside world.

In the new settlements, however, the school forms an organic part of the whole system, whose national and agricultural aims it mirrors with great clearness. Even before a child learns to read or write, it has always acquired some agricultural lore and knowledge from things which happen every day before its eyes. The kindergarten and the school lie in the centre of the colony, they have their own vegetable garden and their own poultry yard, in which the children are occupied from their earliest years. The settlement and the agricultural work, not the attractions of the outside world, form their horizon. Their fathers are Jewish farmers, and it is their ambition to be the same, or rather to improve and advance on the same lines. Thus we hope that the second generation will achieve that which their parents strove for and prepared, yet could not hope to achieve themselves.

And finally, a few words on the subject of agricultural training for girls. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that 15 years ago there were scarcely a dozen women and girls in all the Jewish colonies who had

received or acquired any agricultural training, and that on the whole the colonists' wives could give them none of the help required of women in agriculture. At that time there was not a single agricultural school or any other possibility for girls of acquiring agricultural instruction and experience in all Palestine. The wives and daughters of the colonists fitted so little into rural life that they were ridiculed by their German neighbours. The Germans could well ask : " You have imitated us in everything. Are you now going to imitate our wives ? " This taunt, perfectly justified at the time, has now lost its meaning. The girls' training farm, founded in 1910 under the most pitiful conditions by Mrs. Hannah Schochat-Meisal in Kineret, and lately removed to Nahalal, has played an important part in this development. Two years ago the committee for the Orphans of Palestine, aided by the American Joint Distribution Committee, accommodated about 70 orphan girls in the colony Shveyah for the purpose of giving them an agricultural and domestic training. Hundreds of girls have also learnt agricultural work in the Kvutsoth of the Zionist Organisation, and to-day it is possible to say that in all Jewish settlements the woman works and creates as an equal partner side by side with her husband. Many measures have been taken in the new settlements for the purpose of freeing women from the minor duties of the household and from constant care of their children, in order that they should be able to devote more of their time to actual agricultural work. In several parts of Palestine (*e.g.*, in Shechunat Boruhov, Nahlat Jehudah and Petah Tikvah) special Kvutsoth, employing only girls and directed by experienced forewomen, are found, where girls are introduced to the more important branches of agriculture, such as dairy, vegetable, poultry and bee farming. On the whole we can say that the problem of changing the Jewish woman into an equal partner and collaborator with her husband, a problem whose

solution seemed 15 years ago to be impossible, has now been solved. Of course, conditions are not and cannot yet be in a state of absolute perfection. The new training farm for girls, which is now being constructed in Nahalal with the aid of the Women's Zionist Organisation, will therefore become the centre of all efforts for a better training for girls.

An improvement in agricultural methods followed an improvement in agricultural training. Even the old Rothschild colonies had advanced considerably on the primitive methods of the Arab. They had substituted motor-driven suction pumps for the old water-wheels, and had thus made the cultivation of oranges possible on a much larger scale. They had substituted the European plough for the old nail-plough of the Arab, and had also introduced many other European implements. The first modern threshing machine was acquired before the European War. Tractors introduced from Europe and America made possible a swifter clearance of fallow land. For this purpose steam ploughs were introduced after the war into the I.C.A. colony Benyaminah, which colony was also the first to construct modern works for the pasteurisation of milk. Co-operation in buying and selling, aided by the Co-operative Purchase Union "Hamashbir," founded during the war, and the "Ossem" Company, founded in 1924, appeared everywhere, and enabled many branches of agriculture, up to then unprofitable, to become a lucrative undertaking.

In 1921 the Zionist Organisation established an *Agricultural Experimental Station* at Tel-Aviv, which, supported by the Keren Hayesod, has played a large part in the improvement of agricultural methods and the increase of the productiveness of the land. The Experimental Station is divided into departments for general agricultural instruction, seed culture, methods of clearance and cultivation, dairy and poultry farming, animal and plant diseases, chemistry and botany. Until

now it has concerned itself principally with attempts at new cultivation and fertilisation, the growing of superior grain, the fight against animal and plant parasites, and the introduction of new cultures, *e.g.*, sugar-beet, lucerne and hemp. Recently it has also undertaken the duties of training farmers by instruction and demonstration, and of rendering the latest results of research accessible to the settlers. It is only natural that there should still be many gaps in the organisation of the Experimental Station, even now but three years old, but with its gradual development and enlargement it will certainly play a large part in the progress of Palestinian agriculture.

This agricultural revolution which has been brought about by the Jewish colonisation has created very many new problems. Though the old system was mostly primitive and often unprofitable, it was nevertheless of organic growth, developed through thousands of years. The Jewish immigrants broke with the old system in order to adapt it to their own needs and wishes. Thus they destroyed its balance and necessitated the creation of an entirely new system. To give only a few examples, we can cite the question of rotation of crops, the question of intervals between the drills with cereals and slips, of fertilisation, of the best time for sowing, of the amount of irrigation necessary for certain cultures, of the ration of fodder for milking cattle, the improvement of breeds, the selection of the hardiest plants. These are some of the problems which will fully occupy the Experimental Station for many decades to come.

CHAPTER VII.

SYSTEMATIC AMELIORATION OF THE LAND.

The lack of *roads* was one of the most serious among the various causes which were impeding the development of Jewish colonisation before the Great War. The Turkish Government, taking no interest whatever in the improvement of the country, neglected the road-system more than anything else. Not one well-kept road could at that time be found in the whole country. The lack of a main road system prevented Jewish colonists from building their own branch roads. Thus travelling and transport to and from the colonies were always a very expensive and tedious affair, and during the bad periods of the year some colonies were even entirely cut off from the outside world. The British Administration radically changed all this ; the railway line Kantarah-Haifa was completed, and the whole country covered with a network of good roads. Motor cars and lorries could now be introduced and a settlement could now communicate with the nearest market in a fourth or a fifth of the time it had previously taken. The construction of the main roads was followed up by the construction of branch roads by the settlements. The lead was taken by the new settlements in the Emek Yezreel, and soon after it became a leading principle of colonisation that the foundation of a new settlement must immediately be followed by the construction of roads, connecting it with the nearest highway.

The old colonies Rishon and Rehobot have also been enabled by a loan from the Zionist Organisation to connect themselves to the Jaffa-Jerusalem highway. Much remains to be done, however, since many of the old colonies can be reached by motor or cart only with difficulty in the summer, and often not at all in the winter. Yet now that the necessity of branch roads has been recognised, this can be merely a question of time.

Another problem whose importance has been realised, is that of *water supply*. Already before the war some of the colonies, such as Rishon-le-Zion, Petah Tikvah, Zicron-Jacob and Hederah possessed private waterworks supplying them with sufficient water. In other of the old colonies, however, the problem of water-supply was a great difficulty. The question was treated as one of the greatest importance already in the first settlements of the Zionist Organisation (Kineret, Daganiah, Merhaviah), and has been solved in an admirable way in the new settlements in the Emek Yezreel. Each settler in those settlements is supplied by central works with a sufficient quantity of water for drinking purposes, and also receives, whenever possible, water for his vegetable plot.

Perhaps the most important problem, however, was that of drainage. In the old times Palestine was excellently drained, as is shown by the remains of old Jewish-Roman drainage works and canals, still seen in regions which to-day are absolute swamps. These works fell into ruin under the Turkish regime, or perhaps even before, and as a consequence the country slowly reverted to swamps and marshes. These marshes constitute breeding places for the Anopheles fly, and thus cause malaria, the disease which has ravaged Palestine during the last few centuries, and has decimated its population. Hundreds of ruins all over the country mark the sites formerly occupied by Arab villages whose inhabitants either died out or fled from plague into the safer districts in the mountains. The first Jewish

colonies suffered terribly from the disease. In some spots, *e.g.*, in Hederah, in Yesod Hamaalah, and in Mishmar Hayarden, a large part of the settlers died, while the survivors were weakened and rendered incapable of work by the continual recrudescence of the illness. A considerable period of time passed by before the Anopheles fly was recognised as the carrier of the disease, a fact known in Europe already in 1897. Before the war attempts were made to fight the danger by avoiding or drying out swampy regions. Yet the measures taken, *e.g.*, the planting of eucalyptus trees or open drainage of swamps, proved insufficient radically to destroy the disease. Thanks to the British Government, to the medical company "Hadassah," sent to Palestine by American Zionists, and the efforts of the Rockefeller Institute, Washington, U.S.A., the fight against malaria was continued energetically after the war. New ground was broken by the drainage works installed by the J.N.F. in its newly acquired land in the Emek Yezreel. Districts such as Nahalal, till then breeding centres of the disease, were rendered healthy to such a degree that one year after the work had been completed not a single case of malaria occurred. The sanitary work now being done by the I.C.A. in its colony Benjaminah, and in a swampy district leased by the government, is also worthy of the highest praise.

As it has now been realised that the disease can be entirely rooted out, it has become a principle of colonisation that all marshy land must be subjected to drainage and sanitary work *before* the final settlement. Many advantages ensue from this system. In the districts of greatest infection the malaria directly imperilled the life of the settlers; but even where the disease appeared in a lighter form it rendered them incapable of work, not only during the days of actual illness, but also during the long periods of convalescence. The disease, always threatening the settlers, deprived them of hope and the joy of life. A settlement could not

hope to profit economically, if every third working-day was wasted by the disease. Thus the destruction of the malaria danger has probably been the most important of the reforms effected, and has greatly improved the material situation of the settlements. Many problems still remain to be solved, *e.g.*, drainage is extremely difficult in settlements lying on the shores of the lakes of Huleh and Tiberias, or on the banks of perennial rivers, since in such cases a removal of the breeding places would necessitate the regulation of the whole shore or bank. In other cases the difficulty is caused by swamps situated near Jewish colonies, but on Arab ground, since, if the Government is unable to intervene the Arabs are both unable to remove the danger themselves and stupidly oppose all attempts at its removal by outsiders. On the whole it has to-day been recognised in Palestine, that human settlements must be at least $2\frac{1}{2}$ kilometres (the maximum distance of flight of the *Anopheles* fly) distant from swampy and infected regions.

Great attention is paid in the new settlements to the *fertilisation of the soil* by means of manure. In the Arab villages large manure heaps used to be found, which contained the manure of centuries, and formed hotbeds of insects and disease. These heaps have disappeared wherever Jewish colonisation has penetrated, for the Jews have bought all the manure and carried it in thousands of cart and camel loads to their fields. In addition to this "Arab manure," the Jews expend great care on their own manure, as shown by the careful construction of solid, well-built manure pits in every settlement. Gradually more light is also being thrown on the right use of *artificial manure and fertilisers*, chiefly through the efforts of the Government and of the Experimental Station, which are carrying out analytical experiments and researches and employing demonstration grounds for the purpose of discovering the substances lacking in the soil.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NEW STYLE OF SETTLEMENTS.

The new settlements differ from most of the older colonies by their size and their general planning. It has now become generally accepted that a settlement must comprise at least 60 and if possible 100 agricultural settlers. Only if a settlement has reached that size can provision be made for a school of adequate size and equipment, for public institutions such as library, a public hall and lectures, and for the presence of medical men in the settlement. A large settlement has less difficulty in constructing its connecting roads and in establishing postal and other communications with the nearest town. Everywhere in the world one finds to-day that the country population is gradually migrating into the towns. This is caused chiefly by the dull monotony and spiritual unproductiveness of village life. This tendency can, however, be counteracted by making village life more attractive. As Jews fear to stunt their mental growth, to acquire a village psychology, adequate measures must be taken to create an active spiritual life in the settlements. Large settlements are absolutely essential for this purpose. Another advantage of the large settlement is the fact that the share of the public burden, *i.e.*, the upkeep of water supply, common machinery, school, kindergarten,

medical officers, etc. falling on the individual settler, diminishes in inverse proportion with the size of the settlement. A large settlement can afford to supply many of its wants by craftsmen and artisans residing permanently in the settlement, while one of smaller size is forced to depend on outsiders. In the new settlements in the Emek Yezreel, provision is usually made for the accommodation of ten artisans, each possessing five dunam of land, among every forty agricultural settlers.

Many of the old colonies, founded by the first settlers' own initiative, were constructed without any systematic plan. Naturally, this want of foresight could not fail to cause many faults, so that these settlements to-day seem unharmonious and ugly collections of farms and houses. Though the settlements of the I.C.A. in Lower Galilee were up to a certain extent constructed on a systematic plan, the insecurity and danger arising from the hostility of the neighbouring Arabs, who were held very little in check by the Turkish government, caused the buildings to be constructed very close to one another, and to be surrounded by a common wall. For the same reasons, the farms founded by the Zionist Organisation before the war were constructed on the "closed-in yard" principle. These yards, however, were made unusually large, so that even to-day they are spacious enough for most purposes. After the advent of the British administration had given much greater security to the country, settlements could be constructed from new points of view. The well-known architect Richard Kaufmann was sent to Palestine by the Palestine Land Development Company, and designed new and epoch-making plans for Nahalal and Kfar Yehezkiel. He exchanged the old village, built more or less in one row, for *one of circular shape*, in which the dwellings of the individual settlers are grouped as regularly as possible circlewise round a centre or nucleus composed of the public and common buildings.

In contrast to the previous one, this system seeks to adapt itself to the landscape and its irregularities. The public buildings are situated on the highest and most favourable point of the settlement and are, if possible, within easy reach of all the different parts of the settlement. This "village forum" forms not only the economic, but, conformably to its purpose, the architectural centre of the colony. An inner circle, comprising the dwellings of artisans, teachers, doctors, etc., is built round these buildings and is itself surrounded by an outer circle composed of the actual farmhouses. "Thus it has been attempted to turn a colony into a living organism possessing a natural central and culminating point, an organism which conforms also to all the demands of hygienics, security, architecture and æsthetics." (Richard Kaufmann, "Architectural Plan of Construction of Nahalal and Kfar Yehezkiel.").

The above system generally holds good for the construction of the Moshve Ovdim. For the Kvutzoth, on the other hand, only few plans have yet been designed. In this case special importance was attached to constructing and grouping the buildings in the way that would best answer the purpose of the Kvutzah. Though the settlement forms one self-contained whole, the different parts of the settlement, such as the school and kindergarten, the actual dwellings, the agricultural buildings and stables, are all clearly separated from each other. As the type of building employed in the Kvutzah is usually larger than that found in individualist settlements, care was taken to construct a building with its greatest length in a North-South direction, so that its broadest faces might receive the benefit of the cooling West winds and of the warmth of the sun from the East and West. Important principle though this be, it had scarcely even been applied before; thus its application constitutes another progressive step in the history of our colonisation. Similarly, the stables are placed on the leeward side of the dwellings so that their

odours and insects should be kept away as much as possible from the human habitations.

As some of our districts, especially in the Emek Yezreel, are capable of very intensive colonisation, it will soon be found necessary to construct *systematic plans for whole districts*. Such plans should include the different settlements, their communications with each other, all highways and roads down to footpaths, the division of fields, and the water supply and irrigation systems, thus treating whole districts as single entities.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CREATION OF A LAND RESERVE.

While the 120,000 Jews of Palestine formed, at the end of April, 1925, about fifteen per cent. of the whole population (820,000), they owned but 900,000 dunam or about four per cent. of the whole area of Palestine which, without Transjordan or the sand desert south of the 31st degree of latitude, amounts to 20,000 square kilometres or 20,000,000 dunam. Leaving out of account areas, to the size of 10,000,000 dunam, consisting solely of sand-dunes, stony mountains, desert, lakes and other stretches unfit for cultivation, and which comprise about a half of the total area, and remembering on the other hand that only one-sixth of the Jewish land is uncultivable, it is found that the Jews own approximately one-twentieth of the whole cultivable land, though constituting one-seventh of the population. Till the end of the Great War, Turkish legislation made it impossible for Jewish colonisers to acquire land lawfully and openly. Nevertheless, about 450,000 dunam had been purchased up to that time, but only by roundabout ways and with great difficulty. The new legislation of the British Administration removed all those difficulties and gave proper facilities to both individuals and companies in the matter of purchasing land.

During the last five years about 450,000 dunam have passed into Jewish hands. Most important among recent acquisitions are the land purchases of the J.N.F., the Palestine Land Development Co., and the American Zion Commonwealth in the Valley of Esdrælon. This is so, firstly, because the Emek Yezreel, the old granary of Palestine, though exploited by man for many centuries, still offers the best agricultural possibilities ; secondly, because large connected areas (about 150,000 dunam) had for the first time been acquired. The total Jewish possessions in the Valley of Esdrælon amount at present to about 200,000 dunam. During recent years the J.C.A. has also considerably increased its area of land in Samaria. These two Jewish areas, Samaria and Emek Yezreel, converge upon Haifa as their natural market, and thus assure Jewish influence on this promising town. It is also hoped that by additional purchases these two areas may be rounded off and joined to one another.

The purchases of the Jewish National Fund in the Valley of Esdrælon have enabled the Zionist Organisation for the first time to apply agricultural colonisation systematically to large areas. The Keren Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund) as the central financial agency for all national reconstruction work in Palestine, and the Keren Kayemeth Leisrael (Jewish National Fund) as the national institution for the acquisition of land, work hand in hand at this task. The *Keren Hayesod* furnished the means for the construction of the buildings and the acquisition of the agricultural equipment, while the Jewish National Fund met not only the expenses of the actual purchase of land, but also those of essential preliminary work, such as drainage, the construction of communications and of a water supply system, etc. The price paid by the J.N.F. for one dunam of unirrigated land was about £3 (about £12 an acre or £30 an hectare). At the time of the first great purchase many Zionists found this price

too high, and therefore regarded the whole venture as mistaken. To-day, however, it can scarcely be doubted any longer that the measure was both justified and necessary, since it lay in the interests of our whole work in Palestine not to lose any time in the commencement of colonisation, which the acquisition of large tracts of land enabled us to do.

Yet the price of land to be paid by the Zionist Organisation in the future is still being discussed and debated. It has been argued that the profits of Palestinian agriculture are too small to justify a price of £3 for one dunam of unwatered land; that as the Jewish colonisation companies are the only purchasers of land in Palestine, a discontinuance of their competition would force sellers in immediate want of money to lower their prices; that the high rate of interest existing in Palestine (8—10 per cent.), enables the seller to profit more from the capital than from the land itself. All these arguments, though possibly justified from some points of view, do not take some important counter-arguments into consideration.

(1) When referring to the low returns of agriculture, one has usually in mind the Jewish colonist. Yet this is a one-sided argument, as the European standard of life of the Jew increases his expenses to such an extent, that the whole of his income is taken up. On the other hand, the lower standard of the Arab fellah enables him to cultivate land on leasehold, and to pay one-fifth of the produce as rent to the owner. Taking the unwatered tracts of land of the Emek Yezreel as an average, this fifth of the produce provides the owner with a ground-rent averaging 12—15 piastres a dunam. If £3 is taken as the average value of one dunam of land, the ground-rent would accordingly amount to 4—5 per cent.

(2) It must be taken into consideration that the land-owner's property is not only a source of wealth, but also an important factor in the determination of

his social position. Though this may not be the case with absentee landlords, it strongly affects those land-owning Arabs who reside either on the land itself or in a neighbouring town. As the landed proprietor occupies a high place in the social scale, he does not easily separate himself from his property. To the Mohammedan especially the tradition of the Koran still specifies ownership of land as the best and safest kind of wealth.

(3) The anti-Zionist agitation among the Arabs has rendered and will still render many native land-owners little inclined to sell their land to Zionist companies. It employs the press for this purpose and attempts to intimidate the sellers.

(4) The possible field of purchase is restricted by the fact that the Zionist companies are prevented by political, legal, and agricultural reasons from acquiring small peasant properties. Yet only a third of Palestine consists of large estates which could eventually be purchased.

(5) And lastly, the world-wide agitation and propaganda of Zionists have raised Palestine to an importance out of proportion to its size and population, and have thus excited exaggerated hopes for the future in the minds of many land-owners, causing them to think that as the Jews are determined to buy land at any cost they will pay higher prices in a few years' time, or that the establishment of an Agrarian Bank and the obtaining of cheap mortgage credits generally will save them the necessity of selling land.

All these arguments make it clear that it is impossible to determine the price of Palestinian land by reasons purely economic, such as the amount of the produce of the soil. Neither can it be determined by the rate of a stock exchange or by other purely objective indications. At all such transactions the price is fixed by subjective motives and considerations, such as, for instance, the financial situation of the seller, who may

or may not be able to wait for better offers, the relation and connections of the property in question with other Jewish property, etc. In addition, 20 years ago, when under the Turkish administration Palestine lacked practically all means of transport and conveyance, the average price of one dunam was £1. Just before the Great War it had risen to £2, and to-day, after the British Administration has immeasurably increased the security and possibilities of communication and transport, a price of £3 for unirrigated land in the Valley of Esdrælen does not seem disproportionate, especially if it be remembered that during the last ten years the price of land has risen all over the world. There must of course be no competition between the Jewish colonising companies, or else prices will rise with great rapidity. Unscrupulous middlemen and brokers, whose interest lies solely in their own pecuniary profit, must be driven out of the business. Only if this is done, and if the Jewish companies work by co-operation rather than by competition, will prices be successfully kept at the normal level. On the other hand, it will naturally not be possible to acquire large areas, unless the price offers the land-owners obvious advantages over the rent received from the land.

We may mention that the price of land constitutes an item of less importance among the general expenses of colonisation than is usually assumed. Taking £3 as the average price of one dunam of unwatered land, and 100 dunam as the average area allotted to each settler, £300 will be required to purchase sufficient land for one settler. £100 on the other hand goes for water supply, drainage, roadways, etc., and £700 for buildings, general equipment and machinery. Consequently, if it were possible to lower the price of land to £2 a dunam, the whole expenses would amount to £1,000 instead of £1,100. At a yearly rate of interest and amortisation of three per cent., a settler would pay £30 annually instead of £33. Thus the price of land plays a much

smaller part than one would have imagined and is not among the most important factors governing the profitability of our colonisation. On the other hand, it is not certain whether purchase of land will not become more difficult and also more expensive in the near future. Ownership of land being, however, the basis of all our work, we must not postpone its achievement to a remote and uncertain future, but must buy—always keeping within reasonable limits—as much as there is to buy and as much as we can buy.

The view, previously widely spread, that the money of the Jewish National Fund should be stored up and left to increase at compound interest till a time when large areas might be purchased more cheaply than is the case to-day, has been generally abandoned, since it has been realised that we must have a *large reserve of land*, if we do not wish our whole work to depend on chance and accident.

At the time of the British occupation of Palestine it was generally thought that our demand of land could and would be satisfied by the allotment of *state territories* to the colonisation companies. The Mandate over Palestine, made over to Great Britain by the League of Nations, contains a special regulation that the establishment of the Jewish National Home should be aided by the allotment of state-owned land to Jews. Up to the present day this regulation has remained a dead letter. With the exception of one large swampy territory near Cæsarea, a hotbed of disease, transferred to the I.C.A. on a long lease by the British government, no land has been put at our disposal. It is probable that, if the government had seriously desired it, it could have made over many state territories to the Jews. Yet it is doubtful whether this would really have been an advantage to us. Under the old Turkish system all land was legally state property, being leased to individuals as long as they cultivated it. Everyone, on the other hand, had the right to take fallow land into cultivation,

thereby becoming its temporary owner. All the good land had therefore naturally been appropriated, and was now under private ownership, and only poor land whose cultivation was not profitable had remained in the hands of the state. The lands in the Jordan Valley, near Beisan, which were earlier the private property of the Sultan and became State Lands after the Turkish Revolution of 1908, are an exception. The land is good, but in 1922 it was ceded by the Palestine Administration to the tenants then settled on it. The remaining State lands are either bare mountains, swamps, and sand-dunes, and waterless territories far removed from the irrigation centres. While some of these territories, such as bare mountain sides, are absolutely useless for the purpose of agriculture, others, such as swamps and areas where water has to be obtained from great depths, could in some cases be rendered cultivable by modern scientific methods and thus be used for colonisation. Yet to do this would nearly always be even more expensive than to purchase good land from individuals. Our colonisation has to struggle with so many other difficulties, that the principle of purchasing the most fertile and best situated tracts of land, even if only at a high price, is perfectly justified. Thus the state-owned land will, as far as can be seen, only play a subordinate part in the satisfaction of our demand for land.

For similar reasons the dry and rainless Southern part of Palestine, called "Negeb" in the Bible, and corresponding more or less with the modern administrative district Bersheba, has, though constituting about a third of the whole country, been nearly altogether neglected by Jewish colonisation. In as far as this land is not an absolute sand-desert, it falls into the category of semi-arid land, the annual amount of rain being 30 cm. (60 cm. at Jaffe). Wheat does not thrive regularly, even the barley crop every second year is a failure. Though indeed it may by aid of the dry-farming system be possible altogether to avoid these bad harvests, and

though certain kinds of plantations might even be successful on this kind of soil, it is extremely doubtful whether the small difference in price (£1—£1½ instead of £3) would justify the acquisition of poor land in the Negeb. Even if the dry-farming system can do wonders, the returns of sandy soil will never equal those of the good alluvial soil in the Emek. Nevertheless, in spite of all these disadvantages, the Zionist Organisation attempted to acquire some tracts of land in the Negeb, expecting that they might become important when the present supply of good land had been exhausted. The attempts did not succeed because of the legal insecurity of rights of contract in the Negeb. The land is used and in a way owned as pasture land not by individuals, but by whole Bedouin tribes. And in spite of all the efforts of the government it has up to now been impossible to enter into any legal transactions with these more or less lawless nomads.

As a rule, the land for Jewish colonisation is bought by the Jewish National Fund, and becomes according to the stipulations of the Fund the inalienable property of the Jewish nation. The land is allotted by the J.N.F. to the settlers on a 49 years' lease; 2 per cent. of the value of the property, which is newly assessed every 10 or 25 years, is paid as ground rent. This system bars the door to land speculation. The increase in the value of the land due to the gradual development of the country enures to the benefit not of the landowner but of the J.N.F. as representative of the Jewish people. This policy is in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the settlers, who, though mostly impecunious, are yet opposed by reason of their socialistic tendencies to profiting from unearned increment. The wealthy classes, previously hostile to the system of hereditary tenure, are also gradually beginning to realise that while a lease of 49 years, with every hope of renewal, is only a little inferior to absolute ownership, it relieves the settler

from the burden of purchasing the land himself, and enables him to invest his capital in the buildings and equipment.

If a settler still wishes to own land as his private property, he can do so by means of the Palestine Land Development Co., which, founded in 1908 by the Zionist Organisation, acts as purchasing agent not only for the J.N.F., but also for private companies and individual settlers. Land can also be acquired by individuals (if necessary, by payment in instalments), from the Jewish Colonisation Association and from the American Zion Commonwealth.

It has been asked why the Zionist Organisation is in need of both the J.N.F. and the Palestine Land Development Company for the purpose of acquiring land.

This question can be answered as follows :—

(1) The P.L.D.C. is used by the J.N.F. on payment of a negligible commission as the technical instrument for its purchases. This has the advantage, that only in cases where transactions for purchase are actually carried through does the J.N.F. incur any expenses. Naturally, not all negotiations commenced with a view to acquiring land lead to a completed purchase ; in many cases there is no result whatever. In such cases the money laid out for expenses is lost and the P.L.D.C. is debited with it. Similarly, the P.L.D.C. is often obliged to advance money to sellers and agents, thus incurring a certain risk. Being a commercial company, it can meet this risk and is justified in doing so. The J.N.F. on the other hand would suffer greatly in its propaganda work, if it transpired that it had suffered any loss in its transactions. Finally, it is of great importance that the P.L.D.C. should nearly always accept the full responsibility for all its transactions, this enabling the J.N.F. to refer to the P.L.D.C. if any faults are later on discovered.

(2) There are still a considerable number of

Jews who are ready to spend money for the purpose of acquiring land in Palestine, provided that they can acquire it as their own free property. There are two dangers connected with such property, the danger of speculation, and the risk that the land will remain unused. It would doubtlessly be preferable to give the J.N.F. the sole right of purchase, if the Fund had sufficient means to acquire all purchasable land. As this is not the case, we are faced with two alternatives, namely either not to buy such land at all, or to acquire it for individual Jews as their private property. From a Zionist point of view the second alternative seems the better. During the last five years about 150,000 dunam, *i.e.*, as much as the J.N.F. itself had acquired during that period, have been transferred to private companies.

(3) In addition to increasing the area of Jewish-owned land, the P.L.D.C. plays an important part in the regulation of the demand of private companies and individuals for land. As long as the P.L.D.C. offers land to private companies and to individuals, the latter have no legitimate reason for entering into negotiations with private traders or with the Arab landlords themselves. The moment the P.L.D.C. ceased to exist, the country would be flooded by demands for land, and all the barriers erected by the P.L.D.C. against unsound speculation would be torn down. The J.N.F. would be the first to suffer from such a wild land-rush, as prices would immediately rise with great rapidity. As long as the P.L.D.C. continues to exist, however, and to sell to private individuals at the lowest rate, the demand for land is regulated and directed into sound channels.

(4) The activities of the P.L.D.C. in Palestine are the surest means of preventing the exploitation of Zionists by unscrupulous middlemen and companies.

(5) A final reason why the purchase of agricultural land must be placed in the hands of an official or semi-official company, controlled by the Zionist Organisation,

is that such land is often occupied and cultivated by Arab tenants. A private purchaser could keep strictly within the limits of the law and yet expel these tenants without making any further provision for them. Such conditions could not fail to rouse Arab discontent and hostility, and are therefore from the Zionist point of view extremely undesirable. It has been one of the principles of the P.L.D.C. to treat these Arab tenants fairly, either by continuing their lease, or by enabling them by a grant of money to acquire another leasehold. This task will, of course, grow more and more difficult as Jewish colonisation spreads and increases. At some period it will be found necessary to see to it more systematically that Arab leaseholders do not remain without land.

SECTION III.—

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE SETTLEMENTS.

CHAPTER X.

SOME RECENT STATISTICS OF THE SETTLEMENTS.

In the year 1914, the total area of all Jewish agricultural settlements amounted to 450,000 dunam, and the population to 12,000 persons, of whom approximately 7,500 were actively engaged in agriculture. By May, 1925, this area had been increased to 900,000 dunam, including 150,000 dunam of newly acquired land not yet colonised, the population to 23,000, and the number of those actively engaged in agriculture, including family dependants, to 15,000. 100,000 dunam were covered by fruit-tree plantations, comprising 12,000 dunam of oranges, 32,000 dunam of almonds, 17,000 dunam of wine, and 10,000 dunam of olives, as also 22,000 dunam of forest trees (eucalyptus, stone-pines, etc.) During the war the settlements remained in a state of stagnation; thus nearly the whole increase took place in the years 1921—24. Indeed, there has never before been a period of such active colonisation as in these four years, during which nearly as many Jews entered Palestinian agriculture as had done so during the previous forty years. Petah Tikvah is the largest colony, its 6,000 inhabitants giving it the air of a country town. It is followed by Rishon-le-Zion, Rehobot, Zicron Jacob, and Hederah, each of which possesses 1,000—2,000 inhabitants. None of the other settlements have a population of more than 1,000, most of them numbering only 100—200

TABLE I.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SETTLEMENTS DURING THE YEARS 5681—5685.*

	Number of the Settlements.			Number of those engaged in Agriculture.			Number of Souls.			Cultivated areas in dunam.		
	5681.	5683.	5685.	5681.	5683.	5685.	5681.	5683.	5685.	5681.	5683.	5685.
Kvutzoth	17	19	21	420	839	1287	420	995	1586	16700	22832	40223
Moshve Ovdim	—	6	15	—	444	1437	—	786	2606	—	11713	52842
Girls' Training Farms	—	3	4	—	34	94	—	34	99	—	120	637
Settlements in Upper Galilee ...	4	4	4	112	114	114	112	146	146	3700	4700	4700
Total ...	21	32	44	532	1485	2932	532	1961	4437	20400	39365	98402
Percentage increase during four years	—	—	110%	—	—	450%	—	—	740%	—	—	380%

*The Training Farms and the two institutions of the Experimental Station in Benshemen and Daganiah are not included in these figures.

*This and the following tables were drawn up by the Colonisation and Book-keeping Departments of the Zionist Executive.

inhabitants. It is difficult to say in the case of many settlements near Tel-Aviv whether they are agricultural settlements or merely suburbs of that town, as their activities are equally divided between agricultural and urban occupations.

The Zionist Organisation had the greatest share in this rapid development from 1921—25. It founded during this period some twenty new settlements from the resources of the Keren Hayesod, it increased the number of inhabitants in those settlements it maintained or supported from 500 to 4,400, and it instigated and assisted the immigration of 1,500 labourers into the older settlements. Further details on the development of the settlements from 1921—1925 (5681—5685) are to be seen in the foregoing Table I.*

It will be seen that (leaving out the four Girls' Training farms, and the four Kvutzoth in Upper Galilee which are no longer under the charge of the Zionist Organisation but of the Palestine Jewish Colonisation Association), the settlements fall into 21 Kvutzoth with 1586 souls, and 15 Moshve Ovdim, with 2,606 souls. The Moshve Ovdim were all founded in the years 1921—24, no Moshav Ovdim having existed in 1920. A census taken in May, 1925, of all settlements founded or supported by the Zionist Organisation produced the results which are set out in Table II. below. According to this statement there are 42 settlements with an aggregate population of 4353, of which 2856 (male and female), are engaged in agriculture. The remainder are either artisans, teachers, medical personnel, etc., or old people and children. The total cultivated area amounts to 94,672 dunam, of which 8,513 dunam are planted with trees. There are also 1905 buildings in the settlements, 3,042 agricultural machines and tools, 48,704 heads of fowl and 997 bee-hives.

TABLE II.

POSITION OF THE SETTLEMENTS ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF MAY, 1925, IN THE PURSUITS
FINANCED BY THE AGRICULTURAL COLONISATION DEPARTMENT.

(Note.—This Table does not contain the four Settlements in Upper Galilee which were not included in the Statements of the years 5684 and 5685; nor yet the Training Farms in the four older colonies; but the Institutes of the Experimental Station in Benshemem and Daganah are included.)

No.	PLACE.	Number of Souls.	Number engaged in agri- culture.	Culti- vated areas in dunam.	No. of draught animals.	Cattle and Sheep.	Build- ings including Barracks	No. of machines and tools.	Culti- vated areas in dunam.	No. of head of poultry.	No. of bee- hives.
1	Ataroth, Moshav ...	53	28	282	4	22	27	26	102	307	9
2	Kiryath-Anavim, Kvutzah ...	70	49	936	7	53	23	41	855	178	35
3	Gedera, New Settlers, Moshav ...	59	38	1482	14	31	28	52	26	184	4
4	Beer Tuvia, Moshav ...	45	23	1806	9	47	12	42	480	103	—
5	Kfar Uria, Moshav ...	55	30	1183	12	97	20	50	18	465	—
6	Huldah Kvutzah ...	48	42	2190	12	34	13	47	1000	448	50
7	Benshemem, Moshav ...	59	28	981	15	64	42	79	134	1346	1
8	Benshemem, Experimental Station ...	44	33	770	2	33	22	43	27	1925	—
9	Petah Tikvah, Girls' Training Farm ...	24	24	50	—	9	9	6	1	628	7
10	Nahalath Yehuda, Moshav ...	215	85	521	11	134	130	50	125	1089	9
11	Nahalath Yehuda, Girls' Training Farm ...	23	22	60	1	16	9	12	2	365	10
12	Shechunat-Boruchov, Girls' Training Farm ...	24	24	67	1	20	12	11	4	515	10
13	Kfar Saba, Moshav ...	204	112	3076	15	383	78	48	220	883	—
14	Kfar Malai, Moshav ...	184	112	2678	34	125	110	119	530	2414	36
15	Gan Shmuel, Kvutzah ...	43	38	585	10	14	12	46	181	—	85
16	Kerkur, Kvutzah ...	35	20	862	7	33	9	35	16	976	—
17	Jazur Achva, Kvutzah ...	35	35	1049	12	29	16	31	1	563	10
18	Nahalal, Moshav ...	403	217	8150	72	307	291	236	699	7807	138
19	Nahalal, Agricultural School ...	28	24	460	2	13	18	20	48	767	—
20	Gingar, Kvutzah ...	42	36	1895	10	30	10	41	75	650	50
21	Gingar-Achva, Kvutzah ...	25	20	1080	9	13	9	19	30	543	10
22	Markenhof, Kvutzah ...	26	25	1312	7	13	11	36	63	602	—

TABLE II (Continued).
POSITION OF THE SETTLEMENTS ACCORDING TO THE CENSUS OF MAY, 1925, IN THE PURSUITS
FINANCED BY THE AGRICULTURAL COLONISATION DEPARTMENT.

No.	Place.	Number of Souls.	Number engaged in agri- culture.	Culti- vated areas in dunam.	No. of draught animals.	Cattle and Sheep.	Build- ings including Barracks.	No. of Machines and tools.	Culti- vated areas in dunam.	No. of head of poultry.	No. of bee- hives.
23	Tzrifin, Kvutzah ...	40	35	1349	12	15	18	32	63	591	—
24	Rama-Sarona, Kvutzah ...	28	18	769	9	3	10	31	—	132	—
25	Merhaviah, Moshav ...	269	178	5028	69	145	118	83	135	1083	—
26	Merhaviah, Kvutzah ...	55	39	2607	19	49	17	48	315	1131	85
27	Kfar Yehezkiel, Moshav ...	279	152	5634	58	187	199	560	164	6438	41
28	Geva, Kvutzah ...	62	50	1769	20	9	13	54	129	553	—
29	En-Harod, Kvutzah ...	330	240	6578	63	165	64	115	718	4665	98
30	Tel Joseph, Kvutzah ...	292	255	7400	78	637	65	114	582	1215	100
31	Beth-Alpha: Hashomer-Hazair Kvutzah ...	122	104	3295	34	107	31	124	175	515	70
32	Beth-Alpha: Hetziba Kvutzah ...	93	73	1513	16	64	41	92	109	1210	8
33	Transylvanian Colony, Moshav ...	174	134	5064	33	176	65	110	190	682	—
34	Tel Adas, Moshav ...	177	98	5548	45	96	54	106	378	1976	15
35	Daganiah A. Kvutzah ...	73	53	1332	13	58	12	62	105	1369	15
36	Daganiah B. Kvutzah ...	71	51	1511	13	38	11	50	96	796	12
37	Daganiah, Experimental Station ...	18	14	290	—	2	3	—	—	—	—
38	Kineret, Kvutzah ...	65	53	1235	14	46	13	48	95	815	50
39	Kineret-Har, Kvutzah ...	31	29	448	9	9	12	28	135	103	—
40	Tire, Kvutzah ...	22	22	510	8	49	10	21	20	26	37
41	Hittin, Moshav ...	176	93	3248	44	129	109	140	7	1404	2
42	Balfouria ...	254	109	8161	59	152	129	134	281	1197	—
Total	...	4353	2865	94672	882	3656*	1905	3042	8513	48704	997

* 603 sheep are contained in this number.

A commission of experts, nominated by the Vaad Haklout, the Agricultural Advisory Council to the Zionist Executive, inspected the settlements in the autumn of 1924 in order to determine the financial needs of the year 1924—25, and to draw up general schemes of work. It has classified the settlements in following order according to their stage of development:—

Class I.—Eight settlements which can and are to be rendered self-supporting in the course of the year 1925 : Benshemen, Gan Shmuel, Givah, Daganiah A, Kfar Yehezkiel, Kfar Nahalal and Kvutzah Merhaviah belong to this class.

Class II.—Nine Settlements with a definite scheme, which, though almost independent, are yet in need of certain amelioration work, such as drainage, irrigation, etc. Such settlements are Kvutzah Achvah in Yadyur, Beer Tuviah, Kvutzah Hashomer Hatzair in Beth-Alpha, Kvutzah Heftzibah in the same, Kwutzah Kineret, Kfar Malal, Ein Harod, Kiryat Anavim, Tel Joseph.

Class III.—Eight Settlements which cannot be rendered independent during the year 1925 owing to the lack of means. This class comprises Gingar, Gederah, Hittin, Tireh, Kfar Saba, Merhaviah (Moshav Ovdim), Tel Adas, Ataroth (Kalendia).

Class IV.—Eight Settlements whose allotted land has not yet been definitely acquired, or where only insufficient land has as yet been purchased. No definite schemes of work have yet been drawn up for these settlements. They are: Achvah in Gingar, Har Kineret, Huldah, Kfar Uriah, Karkur, Markenhof Groups, Nahlat Yehudah and Tzrifin.*

This classification is on the whole also a classification by age : *i.e.*, the greater the age of the settlement, the greater its development. Only in rare cases have

*Not classified are three settlements (Balfouria, Transylvanian Moshav, Rama-Sarona) which must be treated separately ; further, none of the statements includes the four Girls' Training Farms and both institutes of the Experimental Station.

settlements failed to keep up a natural pace of development. Sometimes, however, this happened, be it that the members of the settlement changed too rapidly, that the amount of land was insufficient, or that sanitary conditions were unsatisfactory.

The following TABLE III., dealing with the Kvutzoth in the year 1923—4 (5684), shows :—

(a) How much of the total cultivated area is under (1) Grain and pulse ; (2) Vegetables, and (3) Plantations. It will be seen that 81 per cent. of the cultivated area is apportioned on the average to the cultivation of grain and pulses; 5 per cent. to vegetable growing ; 14 per cent. to plantations. The average cultivated land owned by each family is 61 dunam.

The annual reports of 19 Kvutzoth (Saron-Rama and Daganiah B. not included) show that during the year 1923—4 (5684), the working days were divided as follows :—

16 per cent.	for grain cultivation,
10 per cent.	for vegetable growing,
10 per cent.	for plantation,
16 per cent.	for dairy farming,
4 per cent.	for tobacco,
3 per cent.	for poultry farming,
6 per cent.	for work for others,
10 per cent.	for amelioration work,
23 per cent.	for domestic work,
2 per cent.	for other work.

The high percentage taken up by ameliorations (10 per cent.), and other work (2 per cent.) is due to a large number of the settlements having still been in the construction stage, since amelioration and 'other work' is chiefly draining or irrigation or the construction of paths and houses, undertaken by the settlers for account of the Jewish National Fund or the Keren Hayesod.

A few words in conclusion on the rotation of crops in the new settlements.

The crop rotation in practice with the Arabs consists in barley or wheat following sesame or durrha in good soil, and pulse crops in sandy soil. In the Jordan Valley, where the rainfall is small, and in the Negeb, the ground usually lies fallow after wheat or barley have been sown.

In the German colonies as well this two-year rotation is observed, only fodder plants, such as clover, maize and pumpkin occupy as green crops the place of sesame, durrha or pulse plants. In the Jewish settlements this two-year rotation has also been the custom up to now ; but lately, on the advice of the Experimental Station, a start was made with a three year rotation :—

First year : Vetch or Clover,

Second year : Maize,

Third year : Wheat or Barley.

Out of all these cultivations only wheat or barley has proved worth while, the value of the others lying in their being able as green crops to prepare the ground for wheat and barley.

TABLE III.
DIVISION OF THE AREAS CULTIVATED IN 20 KVUTZOTH IN THE YEAR 5684 (1923-24).

No.	NAME OF THE GROUP.	CULTIVATED AREAS RECKONED IN DUNAM.					CULTIVATED AREAS IN PERCENTAGE.				Number of Labourers.	The area cultivated per family in dunam.	
		Cereals.		Vegetables.		Plantations	Altogether.	Cereals.	Veg etables	Plantations.			Altogether.
		3	4	5	6								
1	2	97	25	583	705	14	4	82	100	52	27		
1	Kiryat Anavim	988	41	1036	2065	47	2	51	100	41	98		
2	Huldah ...	317	10	268	595	53	2	45	100	31	36		
3	Gan Shmuel ...	993	18	14	1025	97	2	1	100	19	108		
4	Kerkur ...	350	50	—	400	88	12	—	100	21	38		
5	Tire ...	397	13	—	410	97	3	—	100	19	42		
6	Jazur ...	2014	76	52	2142	94	4	2	100	34	126		
7	Gingar ...	215	23	20	258	83	9	8	100	15	34		
8	Gingar Achwa...	350	9	37	396	89	2	9	100	13	61		
9	Markenhof ...	350	18	37	405	86	5	9	100	17	48		
10	Tzrifin ...	2077	23	300	2400	86	1	13	100	40	120		
11	Merhaviah ...	4913	315	472	5700	86	6	8	100	162	70		
12	En-Harod ...	4511	322	467	5300	85	6	9	100	217	49		
13	Tel-Joseph ...	1522	115	113	1750	87	7	6	100	88	40		
14	Hashomer-Hazair	1292	31	77	1400	92	2	6	100	46	61		
15	Hezibah ...	1027	50	63	1140	90	4	6	100	29	78		
16	Geva ...	1079	80	91	1250	87	6	7	100	46	52		
17	Daganiah A. ...	1074	59	117	1250	87	5	8	100	42	60		
18	Daganiah B. ...	928	97	145	1170	79	8	13	100	40	59		
19	Kinereth-Emek	115	30	355	500	23	6	71	100	24	42		
20	Kinereth-Har ...	24609	1405	4247	30261	—	—	—	—	998	—		
	Total	1230	70	210	1510	81	5	14	100%	50	61		

CHAPTER XI.

THE SOCIAL AND LEGAL FORM OF THE SETTLEMENTS.

Leaving out the four Girls' Training Farms, and the two institutes of the Experimental Station, the forty-two settlements of the Zionist Organisation can be divided, according to their social structure, as follows :

15 Moshve Ovdim, with 2,606 inhabitants, and a total area of 52,842 dunam.

19 small Kvutzoth, with 964 inhabitants, and a total area of 26,245 dunam.

2 large Kvutzoth, with 622 inhabitants, and a total area of 13,978 dunam (Ain Harod and Tel Joseph).

Thus at present among the Zionist settlements the Moshve Ovdim take first place with the largest number of inhabitants and dunam. They are followed by the small Kvutzot, and finally come the large Kvutzoth.

As a general rule colonisation has until now consisted of the settling of individuals without private means on the land of the Jewish National Fund. The settlers were as a rule nominated by the Merkaz Haklai, a committee chosen by the agricultural labourers of Palestine, whose duty it is to compose suitable groups of workers, and then to propose them as candidates for

settlement in Kvutsoth or Moshve Ovdim to the colonising department of the Zionist Organisation. The first chosen are usually men who have worked in the country for a considerable period, and have received a course of agricultural training. Care is taken to compose the groups of settlers designed to form a settlement in such a way that they should not all be total strangers to each other. Only married settlers are as a rule chosen for the Moshve Ovdim. In the composition of the Kvutsoth, however, the men and women members are chosen in such proportions that there will be sufficient women members to perform the domestic duties and the lighter kinds of agricultural work.

The conditions under which the Jewish National Fund grants land to any of the groups approved by the Colonisation Department of the Zionist Executive are generally that the settlers receive the land on a 49 years' lease. After the third or sixth year, as the case may be, the settler must pay an annual rent of 2—3 per cent. on the value of his land. This property is newly assessed every 10 or 25 years by an impartial Assessment Commission, all improvements of the land resulting from the settler's own work being left out of account. Thus the settler benefits only from his own work, while the J.N.F. reaps the profits resulting from any increase in value caused by the progressive development of Palestine or the increase of Jewish population. Experience in the Jewish Colonies in the Argentine has shown that in colonies where new railway connections had greatly increased the value of property, the colonists were inclined to sell out, and, having settled their relatively small debt to the colonisation company, to emigrate into the towns, profiting considerably by the whole transaction. Since our colonists are not free owners, but only tenants on the land of the J.N.F., conditions such as resulted in the Argentine are to a certain degree prevented, and on the other hand the Jewish National Fund, and therefore the whole Jewish nation to whom

it belongs, are assured of an income growing in proportion to the development of Palestine. At the end of the first lease of 49 years the tenant or his heirs enjoy preferential consideration for a new lease under the same conditions ; if the lease is not renewed, the J.N.F. must pay the settler 75 per cent. of the value of the property.

A further grant is made to the settler by the *Keren Hayesod* (through the mediation of the Colonisation Department of the Zionist Organisation), to enable him to construct and acquire his buildings and equipment. The Colonisation Department and the Palestinian settlers are by now more or less in agreement on all the important points of the form of the contract, in which the conditions of the loan are drawn up, and which must be signed by the parties concerned.

The most important points of the contract are the following : after the expiration of 5 or 7 years of grace the settler must commence his payments of interest and of the amortisation of the loan, which is to be redeemed within 33 years. The years of grace are necessary, as during that period the settler will be occupied in the development of his farm, and, while he is improving the land and acquiring local experience, he will at first probably reap only small returns. Similar periods of grace are granted to colonists in all parts of the world. After this period, the debt is redeemed by progressive instalments. For the first ten years, the settler pays, in addition to 3 per cent. interest, only 1 per cent. of amortisation. During the next ten years he pays 2 per cent., and after that 3 per cent. The whole debt is thus extinguished in the course of about 33 years. The 3 per cent. rate of interest is one of the points upon which no perfect agreement with the settlers has as yet been achieved. In other countries the rate of interest in colonisation varies from 2 to 4 per cent. Thus a rate of 3 per cent. would represent an average. Nevertheless, it has been claimed by the settlers that the conditions in Palestine present more than the usual difficulties,

and that therefore the rate should be fixed not at the average, but at the minimum, *i.e.*, 2 per cent. Further clauses in the contract stipulate that till the total extinction of the debt the settler's establishment remains as a pledge in the hands of the Keren Hayesod, that the settler should perform all the necessary work himself or by the aid of his family, employing paid labour only in special cases, and that he should not lease out his farm to a third party without the permission of the Keren Hayesod. In the Moshve Ovdim the settlers have to work their farms alone or with the help of members of their family and may employ hired labour only in special cases. Should the unit of 100 dunam, which is now considered normal, prove with the progress of intensive farming too large for the working capacity of the settler and his family dependants, consideration would be given to the question of dividing the farm into two parts—naturally with special regard to the married children of the settler. The settler cannot lease his farm to a third party without the consent of the Keren Hayesod. The contract also provides for the case of the death of the settler, in which case his establishment is transferred to the heir most capable of continuing the work without burdening him over much in favour of the other heirs.

There had always been a difficulty in entering into any transactions with the Kvutzoth, because they were not legal bodies corporate. Protracted discussions were necessary to convince the settlers of the need of registering each Kvutzah with the government as an incorporated company and association, and of determining its legal position by statute. Previously there had often been great inconveniences, since a change of membership made it impossible to put forward any claims against or to enter into any legally valid transaction with a Kvutzah. Some Kvutzoth have already been registered and the remainder will soon follow suit ; thus the difficulty has been overcome.

By the registration and the drawing up of the statutes the persons responsible for the Kvutzah can be determined ; a change of membership no longer alters its assets and liabilities ; its contracts with the J.N.F. and the K.H. are legally valid. In the Moshve Ovdim, on the other hand, contracts are drawn up not with the whole community, but with the individual settlers. At the same time certain preferential rights concerning the common interest of the whole settlement are to be granted to the Vaad, the committee of the settlement.

The agricultural workers have recently registered a Central Association with the government under the name of " Nir." It is the aim of this association to combine all the separate agricultural settlements, both Kvutzoth and Moshve Ovdim, for certain common agricultural purposes, *e.g.*, cattle insurance, purchase and sale of the produce, etc. ; it has, however, not yet entered upon its activities. If during the next few years the settlements should prosper and thus be able to place a certain capital for common operations at the disposal of this association, the latter may become of considerable importance in the work of colonisation.

In addition to the typical case in which the Zionist Organisation founds a settlement from the means of the Keren Hayesod, and grants a sufficient loan to the settler to enable him to purchase his total equipment, the Organisation also grants out of Keren Hayesod money loans to individuals in the old colonies and to settlements founded by the private means of other colonisation companies. The Kvutzoth founded in Upper Galilee by the Jewish Colonisation Association, the settlement Balfouria founded by the Zion Commonwealth, and the settlement Bne Brak, founded by its settlers' private means, have all been aided in this way by the Zionist Organisation. Altogether, in the last four years (5682—5685) there has been expended out of the funds of the Keren Hayesod :—

For settling individuals in the old colonies	£E15927
As loans to settlers in the old colonies ..	£E 7934
For the Kvutzoth in Upper Galilee ..	£E 3226
For domiciling Yemenites in the old colonies	£E 6436
	£E33,523

In all these cases, security by mortgage being but rarely possible, the Organisation must remain satisfied with a promissory note of the receiver of the loan in which he binds himself to repay the debt in 15 to 20 annual instalments.

CHAPTER XII.

THE COSTS OF SETTLEMENT.

The Commission of Experts, appointed by the Vaad Haklout for the purpose of examining the general schemes of work and the financial requirements of the settler, reported in September, 1924, as follows on the costs of settlements :—

“ One hundred dunam (9 hectares or 22 acres) were regarded as the unit area required by each settler. In the case of extremely poor land a certain sum of money for fertilisation, manure, etc., was added. In the case of land wholly or partly irrigable a smaller area may be sufficient. Two members of the Commission held the view that in the case of unirrigable land of very poor quality an area of more than 100 dunam should be allotted to the settler.

“ In determining the essential costs of settlement the following principles were taken into consideration by the Commission :—

“(a) That the settler's establishment must furnish him with a quantity of food sufficient for himself and his draught and milk animals and poultry ;

“(b) That it must in addition produce a surplus over consumption for selling purposes ;

“(c) That this surplus must consist of—

- (1) Milk,
- (2) Vegetables and eggs,
- (3) Tobacco, as far as this is compatible with the employment of no hired labour,
- (4) 15 to 20 per cent. of the grain and plantation crops ;

“(d) That irrigation works should be installed wherever possible, a special sum being set aside for this purpose.

“The sum of money necessary completely to establish a settler is composed of the following items :—

Stables	£125
Dwellings	£150
Poultry Yard	£15
Barn	£10
Store Rooms	£20
A Mule	£30
Two Cows of mixed breed	£50
Poultry	£5
Bees	£1
Hives	£4
Half share in a cart	£15
Harness	£4
Half share in a European plough, No. (2)	£3
An Arab plough	£1 10
One-fifth share in a sheaving machine	£7
One-tenth share in a cutting machine	£2 10
One-tenth share in a rake	£1 4
One-fourth share in a brake	£1 5
One-quarter share in a harrow	£1
Diverse tools	£10
Yard (fencing, etc.)	£10
Parcellation and architectural designs	£10
Connecting tubes and pipes	£10

Carried forward £486 9

				Brought forward	£486 9
Manure	..	..	..	..	£20
Young plants	..	..	..	..	£20
Seeds	..	..	..	..	£15
Public plantations	..	..	..	..	£5
Breeding animals	..	..	..	..	£5
Threshing Machine and Tractor				..	£20
Chaff-cutter	..	..	..	..	£1
Smith's tools	..	..	..	..	£1 10
Cattle fodder	..	..	..	..	£40
Victuals for the family	..	..	..	..	£42
Petroleum, etc., for deep ploughing					£10
Five per cent. unforeseen expenses					£34 1
					£700

"With regard to the question of public institutions, the Commission is of the view that the expenses of settlement should include all such expenses (*e.g.*, salaries of secretary, book-keeper, etc.), which are essential for the regular development of the settlement. Public buildings on the other hand cannot be constructed from the money advanced for the construction of the settlement.

"No settlement should lack a school. Even if their restricted means prevent the settlers from constructing the school-buildings themselves, they should try to obtain the capital required for this purpose from other sources. Temporary school-barracks, however, should in the opinion of the majority of the Commission, be constructed by the Settlements Foundation Fund.

"Differences of opinion arose on the question of the professional men and artisans required by the settlements. Several members thought that a certain sum of money from the Foundation Fund should be set aside for the purpose of constructing dwellings for artisans and professional men.

"In many districts the lack of roads is impeding

the development of the settlements and causing unnecessary expenses and financial loss. As, however, the means of the settlers are not sufficient to enable them to construct their own roads, other sources of money must be found for this purpose.

"The Committee holds the view that the settler *must* be enabled to obtain his buildings and stock within three years, and *should* be enabled to do it within two years. In the former case the expenses are divided as follows :—

For the first year	..	..	£309
For the second year	..	..	£187
For the third year	..	..	£204
			£700"

These are some of the main points made by the committee. Every settler must therefore receive 100 dunam of land (costing at least £400, with amelioration work) and a sum of £700 for his buildings, equipment, plants and provisions ; the total costs of settlement of one family therefore amount to £1,100. These expenses are less in the Zionist settlements than elsewhere in Palestine. In Balfouria, where the Zion Commonwealth has constructed large buildings for the settlers, the total costs of settlement of one family amounted to nearly £1,500.

For the settlement of one family in Benyaminah, the I.C.A. was obliged to spend :—

£600 for 100 dunam of land, of which 22 dunam were irrigated.

£450 for buildings.

£500 for general equipment.

In other countries agricultural colonisation is still more expensive. Sir Charles Crewe stated in the "Observer" of April 1924, that £1,500 was the minimum capital needed by a South African colonist. Professor Elwood Mead has stated that in Victoria (Australia), the colonist needs in addition to 40 acres of land (about

180 dunam), a capital of at least \$3,750 (£800). In California the price of a colonist's land varies between \$2,400 and \$19,200, and the remaining expenses between \$4,575 and \$8,850. Mead adds: (Helping our Men to their own Farms, vol. I., page 163). "The costs of the buildings and equipment are indeed bewilderingly high. Yet once and for all, the door of farm ownership cannot be opened without capital and credit. If these be missing, then the call 'Back to the soil' is a mad delusion." Both in California and in Victoria it is demanded that the colonist should himself possess a capital of \$1,500 (£300). The land, and a maximum sum of \$3,000 to cover the remaining expenses, are granted to him by the State.

In reality, up to now only in a part of the Zionist settlements has the sum of £700 per family,* laid down as requisite by the Commission of the Vaad Haklout, been expended or exceeded. This is proved by a study of Tables IVa., and IVb., in which the outlays of the Keren Hayesod and Jewish National Fund are combined,—in Table IVa for 19 Kvutzoth, in Table IVb., for 9 Moshve Ovdim. It must, however, be borne in mind that these tables do not finally represent the extent of the investments:—

1. Because most of the farms are not yet fully equipped; only Kineret, Benshemen, Nahalal, Kfar Yehezkiel, Kvutzah Merhaviah, Daganiah A. and B., Gan Shmuel, Balfouria, and Geva, are near completion of their equipment;

2. Because according to their area and stock several Kvutzoth can and will be taking more members than they now have;

3. Because the amounts given as investments of the Jewish National Fund are not exact but only estimates.

Table V. gives a detailed account of money laid

*A married couple is counted as a family; unmarried settlers (male or female) are counted as half-families.

out for agriculture in the years 5682 to 5685 (1920—21 to 1924—25), from funds made available by the Keren Hayesod (without reckoning in the c. £40,000 spent on the Agricultural Experimental Station). Excluding monies disbursed for administration, instruction, training, and afforestation, and reckoning only the sums given out direct for settlements and credits to the settlers, it will be seen that in these four years the following sums were expended :—

On Zionist settlements founded before the War ..	ca. £24,000
On Moshve Ovdim founded after the War ..	£172,000
On Kvutsoth founded after the War (incl. the four Kvutsoth of the Jewish Colonisation Association in Upper Galilee and incl. the expenditure for the Workers' Legion in En-Harod and Tel Joseph) ..	£139,000
On new settlers in the old colonies	£16,000
On credits to old settlers in the old colonies	£8,000
On settlement of Yemenites in the old colonies ..	£6,000
	ca. £365,000

Of this aggregate sum of £365,000 there remains over, after deduction of the £8,000 given out for credits to old settlers in the old colonies, £357,000, which was spent on the settlements described in Table II.

To find out the aggregate sum invested in these settlements in colonisation (not counting land), those amounts must be included which were spent before the year 5682 (1920—21), and are estimated at £150,000. The total investments without land amount then in

round figures to £500,000. In order to establish herefrom the amount expended on the settlement of one family, let us refer to the settlements in Table II., where it says that 2,865 persons are engaged in agriculture, that is, the married settlers, their wives, and unmarried men and girls. Deduct from this number 94 persons occupied in the four Girls' Farms (but not "settled"), 47 in both institutes of the Experimental Station, and 109 in the settlement Balfouria, which was founded mainly out of means provided by the American Zion Commonwealth. The remaining 2615 engaged in agriculture correspond to about 1,300 families. Reckoning in this way, the settlement of one family has cost up to now on an average £385. If, as the Commission of Experts say, it has to cost £700 per family, then the definitive settlement of these 1,300 families will ultimately require about £400,000.

TABLE NO. IV^a.
INVESTMENTS IN 19 KVUTZOTH AND THE AMOUNTS SPENT FOR ONE FAMILY UP TO THE
END OF 5684 (1923-4).*

No.	Settlement.	Outlays of the Zionist Executive from funds of the Keren Hayesod.	Outlays of the Jewish National Fund.	Various Creditors.	Collective outlays for colonisation.	No. of families or working couples.	Colonisation outlay per family	Jewish National Fund outlay of amelioration of land and water.	Outlay for colonisation and land.	Outlay per Family	Jew. National Fund. Outlay for afforestation and plantations.
		££	££	££	££		££	££	££	££	££
1	Kiryath-Anavim	11,774	1,800	2,367	14,941	26	570	8,100	23,041	880	1,159
2	Huldah ...	2,769	6,500	1,177	10,446	21	500	7,400	17,846	850	30,703
3	Gan-Shmuel	3,377	11,700	1,494	16,571	16	1,000	2,800	19,371	1,200	—
4	Kerkur ...	8,446	—	656	9,102	10	910	500	9,602	960	—
5	Tire ...	3,521	—	1,166	4,687	11	430	1,100	5,787	520	—
6	Achva-Jazur	2,022	—	586	2,608	10	260	3,400	6,008	600	—
7	Gingar ...	3,685	—	760	4,445	17	260	10,800	15,245	900	—
8	Achva-Gingar	882	—	237	1,119	8	140	2,900	4,019	500	—
9	Markenhof	2,529	—	358	2,887	7	410	5,300	8,187	1,170	—
10	Tzrifin ...	1,297	—	329	1,626	9	180	5,300	6,926	770	—
11	Merhaviah	3,555	9,900	976	14,431	20	720	10,300	24,731	1,230	5,960
12	En-Harod (2)	9,736	1,200	2,818	13,754	81	170	50,200	63,954	790	1,460
13	Tel-Joseph (2)	9,423	1,200	8,611	19,234	109	170	50,100	69,334	640	770
14	Hashomer-Hazair										
	Beth-Alpha	10,577	—	2,419	12,996	44	300	24,500	37,496	850	—
15	Hefziba-Alpha	5,384	—	3,493	8,877	23	380	13,300	22,177	960	—
16	Geva ...	5,285	—	524	5,809	15	390	9,400	15,209	1,010	230
17	Daganiah A.	7,000	6,300	1,772	15,072	24	630	2,400	17,472	730	2,200
18	Kineret-Emek	7,684	—	2,786	10,470	20	520	3,600	14,070	700	3,500
19	Kineret-Har	3,139	100	758	3,997	12	330	1,600	5,597	430	1,400

*This is not an exact valuation: all the outlays, improvements, etc., as shown, are estimated in proportion to the area in dunams which was in possession of the settlement in the year 5684.

(1) Included in this amount are the outlays of the Jewish National Fund for the orange-grove of the Kvutzah.

(2) The expenditure on behalf of the farms of En-Harod and Tel-Joseph when Nuris was first made habitable for human settlement is not included in these figures.

(3) Beginning from 5679.

INVESTMENTS* IN 9 MOSHVE OVDIM AND THE AMOUNTS DISBURSED FOR ONE FAMILY TO THE END OF 5684.

TABLE NO. IVb.

No.	Settlement.	Zionist Executive out of Keren Hayesod funds.	Number of Colonist families.	Amount disbursed per family.	Jewish National Fund expenditure for land, drainage, water and ameliorations.	Total Expenditure.	Amount disbursed per family.
		£E		£E	£E	£E	£E
1	Ataroth ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
2	Kfar-Uriah	...	18	4,027	2,900	6,927	380
3	Kfar-Saba	...	8	4,419	400	4,819	600
4	Kfar-Malel**	...	22	3,371	—	—	—
5	Merhavhiah	...	40	17,156	6,400	23,556	590
6	Nahalal	...	39	5,813	17,700	23,513	710
7	Tel-Adas	...	75	42,290	46,400	88,690	1,180
8	Kfar-Yehzekiel 1	...	40	6,105	16,400	22,505	560
9	Hittin ...	...	60	32,564	50,600	83,164	1,380
		...	40	5,592	10,100	15,692	390

*See note to Table IVa.

**These figures do not include the investments of the creditors and the colonists.

TABLE NO. V.
DISTRIBUTION OF THE EXPENDITURE OF THE DEPARTMENT FOR AGRICULTURAL
COLONISATION IN THE YEARS 5682—5685.

No.	Budget Items.	Spent in 5682	Spent in 5683	Spent in 5684	Included in statement for 5685	Total statement Amount.
1	Consolidation of the Settlements founded before the war	£E 14020 608	£E 4866 292	£E 2770 945	£E 1 990	£E 23647 845
2	Kvuzoth in Upper Galilee	2348 888	849 678	27 620	—	3226 195
3	For Moshve Ovdim	35092 830	33837 564	51640 275	51 180	171750 669
4	New Kvuzoth	13579 240	13738 779	32277 415	44 280	103875 434
5	For settlement of individuals in the old colonies	3220 719	1326 171	5230 266	6 150	15927 156
6	Transferring Halutzim on to the land	5079 270	961 710	3150 814	4 000	13191 794
7	Workers' Legion in En-Harod and Tel-Joseph	18572 873	13160 645	—	—	31733 318
8	Settlement of Yemenites	1619 060	1910 000	1807 410	2 250	7934 222
9	Credits to individual farmers in the old colonies	3145 186	644 575	1894 461	—	3314 063
10	Agricultural Girls' School	—	855 242	2428 821	2 500	7443 979
11	Girls' Training Farms	1467 860	1271 481	2204 638	3 000	6251 511
12	Instruction in agriculture	427 953	835 950	1987 608	995	4682 188
13	Agricultural Museum, including library and publications	1184 490	864 563	1638 135	1 755	6370 169
14	Afforestation and plantations	1250 405	1530 816	1833 948	4 000	16186 226
15	Costs of administration	4841 204	3704 543	3640 479	1 900	9752 849
16	Various	5358 687	218 006	2276 156	—	—
	Total Amount	111209 073	80606 024	114808 991	125 100	431724 080

CHAPTER XIII.

CAN PALESTINIAN AGRICULTURE PAY?

Agriculture is at the present day offering far from brilliant prospects in most countries. It usually suffers from the competition of young countries such as Canada, Australia, and the Argentine, which, by reason of the greater productiveness of virgin soil, and of their larger area, are able to produce a large surplus over their own requirements of grain, meat and milk products, which they can put on the world market at extremely low prices. Farmers in the U.S.A., who 50 years ago were themselves crushing European agriculture by their competition, are to-day similarly troubled by competition from Canada, and are crying out for state aid. There is therefore no need to wonder if Palestinian agriculture has to face great difficulties. European countries have partly protected themselves against foreign competition by imposing high protective duties on grain and flour, thus relieving their agricultural population. In Palestine the duty on 100 kg. of wheat amounts to 15 piastres, on the same quantity of barley to 10 piastres, of butter to 250 piastres, of cheese to 150 piastres, and on meat to 12 per cent. of its value. These duties, although constituting a certain protection against foreign competition, are not sufficient to render Palestine completely independent of the world market.

Australian wheaten flour, sometimes offered at prices 15 or 20 per cent. lower than those of Palestinian flour, has in many cases displaced the latter. The same conditions prevail in the case of Australian butter, Egyptian cheese, at times even of Egyptian vegetables, European fruit and Australian tinned fruit.

The Palestinian dairy industry offers a good example of the influence of outside competition. The price of milk being very high, it is to-day relatively the most lucrative branch of Palestinian agriculture. Jewish immigration brought with it an immense increase in the consumption of milk, with which production could not keep pace; in consequence milk was sold to consumers at prices varying according to the season of the year from 3 to 5 piastres a litre. But since the high prices have on their part induced a great increase in production, the price of milk will before long begin to fall very rapidly unless the producers are successful in bringing the surplus on the market in the form of butter and cheese. Here comes the difficulty. Though foreign countries can scarcely send fresh milk into Palestine, butter and cheese are imported from Egypt and Australia at very low prices. In proportion to the present price of milk, Palestinian butter would be retailed at 25 piastres a keg. The same quantity of Australian butter is however sold at 15 piastres. It is therefore clear that the greatest efforts of the Palestinian dairy industry will be required in order to lower the costs of production during the short period of grace allowed them by the large demand for milk to a point which will enable butter and cheese to be produced and also sold in competition with Australian products.

The Jewish settler in Palestine can best protect himself against foreign competition by depending only to a small extent on the sale of his produce, and by using the largest part of it to satisfy his own requirements. This is the object at which the system of mixed farming is aiming. If the settler can produce a sufficient quantity

of wheat, oats, vegetables, fruit, milk, poultry and honey, the price of these commodities matters little to him. The productiveness, *i.e.*, the quantity of the produce of one dunam is of more importance than the money value of the produce. This productiveness is not yet as great as might be desired. The soil yields such small returns to the Arab fellah (*e.g.*, 40—50 kg. of wheat per dunam), that he cannot, with all his diligence and agricultural ability, earn more than a bare livelihood. The Jewish settlements obtain better results, yet neutralise them by proportionally greater expenses. The Vaad Haklaut in its report estimated the average productiveness of the Zionist settlements to be as follows :—

Wheat	60—80 kg. per dunam.	
Maize and Beans ..	50—60 kg. per dunam.	
Annual yield of a cow of Arab race ..	500—700 litres	} Sale price 1½ piastres*
Annual yield of a cow of pure Damascus breed	2,000—2,500 litres	
Annual yield of cow of mixed race ..	1,500—2,000 litres	

The annual yield of a hen amounts to 80—100 eggs, the price being a quarter of a piastre an egg. The annual yield of a beehive is 25 kg. of honey, at four piastres the kg. One dunam of unirrigated land produces vegetables to the value of £3. One dunam of irrigated land produces vegetables to the value of £5—£8. One dunam of irrigated land produces tobacco to the value of £8—£10.

A calf of pure Damascus breed is valued at £6, one of mixed breed at £4, and one of Arab breed at £2 10s. od.

For comparison it may be mentioned that official Egyptian statistics (Monthly Agricultural Statistics, October, 1924), estimate the average produce of one

*The price of milk is only given as 1½ piastres (in spite of the high price prevailing at present) because the Commission is doubtful whether the current price can last much longer.

dunam in Egypt at 144 kg. of barley, 197 kg. of maize, 159 kg. of wheat and 1,350 kg. of onions. Thus the produce of barley is 50 per cent., that of wheat 100 per cent., and that of maize 250 per cent. higher than in Palestine. But it must be remembered that the ground under cultivation in Egypt is irrigated.

Table VI. (p. 107-8) shows the results of the separate products for the harvest year 1923, which were collected in the Autumn of 1924 by the Department of Trade and Industry of the Zionist Executive from the Jewish settlements and colonies.

TABLE VI.

RETURNS OF THE YEAR 1923.

Product.	Settlement.	Area in dunam.	Gross Produce Amount.	Gross Produce Value.	Expenses.	Net Profit	
						Total	Per Dunam
Oranges	Ness Zionah	15	1900 cases	£ 486	£ 294	£ 192	£ s. d. 12 16 0
"	" "	20	3000 "	600	475	125	6 5 0
"	Rehobot	28	4200 "	840	500	340	12 3 0
"	"	60	6600 "	1320	947	373	6 4 5
"	Petah Tikvah	30	5000 "	1000	735	265	8 16 0
"	"	40	2400 "	600	297	303	7 11 0
"	Ain Ganim	2½	300 "	67	48	19	7 12 0
"	Hederah	50	5500 "	1320	980	340	6 16 0
Grapes	Ness Zionah	33	60 Kantar	48	48	—	—
"	Rishon-le-Zion	10	40 "	32	15	17	1 14 0
"	Rehobot	22	68 "	54	34	20	0 18 0
"	Petah Tikvah	41	100 "	138	82	56	1 7 0
"	Zieron Jacob	43	82 "	98	34	64	1 12 0
"	"	40	25 "	45	30	15	0 8 0
Bananas	Migdal	2	300 "	43	19	24	12 0 0
Olives	Petah Tikvah	15½	12 "	18	18	15	0 17 0
"	Hederah	70	45 "	68	50	18	0 5 0
"	Zieron Jacob	14	23 "	25	9	16	1 2 0
Almonds	Bir Jacob	50	8 "	80	50	30	0 12 0
"	Petah Tikvah	42	8 "	80	50	30	0 14 0
"	Rehobot	5	2 "	20	11	9	1 16 0
"	Hederah	30	11 "	110	50	60	2 0 0
Potatoes	Nahlat Yehudah	1	24 "	11	5	6	6 0 0
"	Hederah	10	30 "	90	20	70	7 0 0

TABLE VI. (Continued).
RETURNS OF THE YEAR 1923.

Product.	Settlement.	Area in dunam.	Gross Produce Amount.	Gross Produce Value.	Expenses.	Net Profit.	
						Total	Per Dunam.
Broad Beans	Nahalal	12	2600 kg.	£ 39	£ 13	£ 26	£ s. d. 2 12 0
"	Yabneel	33	3375 "	24	15	9	0 6 0
"	Yesod Hamaalah	21	15 Kantar	26	11	15	0 1 0
Lentils	Kfar Saba	10	3 "	10	4	6	0 12 0
"	Merhaviah	35	1750 kg.	14	11	3	0 2 0
Tomatoes	Betaniah	4	2520 Rottel	27.10	20	7.10	0 18 0
"	Bir Jacob	3		10	3.10	6.10	2 4 0
Egg Fruit	Migdal	8		50	26	24	3 0 0
"	Betaniah	3½	10½ Kantar	20.10	18	2.10	16 0 0
"	Kineret	1	500 Rottel	10	5.10	3.10	4 10 0
"	Migdal	1½		20	6.10	13.10	10 16 0
Water Melons	Hederah	40	2500 kg.	40	32	8	0 4 0
"	Hederah	135	240 Kantar	360	140	220	1 12 0
Wheat	Petah Tikvah	100	30 "	90	39	51	0 10 0
"	Yabneel	30	60 keli	45	15	30	1 0 0
"	Meshah	65	80 "	48	20	28	0 8 0
Barley	Katrah	23	16 Kantar	40	15	25	1 2 0
"	Hederah	15	14 "	41	11	30	2 0 0
Durral	Nahalal	18	1700 kg.	12	7	5	0 6 0
Eucalyptus	Petah Tikvah	40	120 horse loads	40	5	35	0 18 0

NOTE.—1 Kantar = 100 Rottel = 288 kg. in Judea and 256 kg. in Galilee.

1 Kel of wheat = about 75 kg.

(1) Selling as table grapes 42 Kantar for £80, for wine-making 58 Kantar for £58.

(2) Average proceeds of the two years 1922—23.

On looking at Table VI. one notes at once that oranges yield by far the greatest profits. It must be remembered, however, that the costs of laying out an orange plantation amount (with land) to about £60 per dunam, that the first five years are absolutely barren, and that full returns are only obtained after nine years. Adding the interest for five years, the initial costs for one dunam of oranges are increased to £75. The same area can be employed for the cultivation of almonds, vine or olives at a cost of £15. Comparing the net profits yielded by these plantations with those obtained from potatoes, vegetables or corn, where the first returns are obtained after at the most half a year, and where no large investment of capital is required, 8 to 10 per cent., representing the interest on the capital invested, must be deducted from the profits obtained from plantations. This brings the profit of one dunam of oranges down to £4—£5, those of other fruit-tree plantations to not more than 10s. Thus by far the most profitable cultivation is that of oranges. Good results are also obtained from potatoes, which, however, only thrive in light soil. The production of potatoes can still be greatly increased, all the more so as, like onions and other winter vegetables, they need no irrigation, and possess the additional advantage over other (irrigated) vegetables of keeping much longer. The returns of tomatoes and egg-fruit (aubergines) are also high up in the scale, while the profits yielded by corn and pulse varieties do not on the average exceed £1 per dunam. It will be observed that the results obtained from the same product vary greatly in different regions. This can be explained firstly by the differences of soil and of agricultural methods, secondly by the fact that only actual outlays and not the personal labour of the settler, are taken into account. In a case where all the work is performed by the settler and his family the expenses will therefore be less than in a case where paid labour is employed.

TABLE VII.

GROSS RECEIPTS IN THE YEAR 5684 ACCORDING TO THE DIFFERENT BRANCHES OF FARMING IN THE KVUTZOTH (EXCEPT SARONA-RAMA AND DAGANIAH) AND THE THREE GIRLS' TRAINING FARMS.

No.	NAME OF GROUP.	Hus- bandry.	Vege- culture.	Tobacco.	Planta- tions.	Dairy, poultry.	Poultry and bee keeping.	Extra work.	Various.	Alto- gether.
		£E	£E	£E	£E	£E	£E	£E	£E	£E
1	Huldah	1,041	46	150	1,388	985	147	4	—	3,761
2	Nahlat-Jehuda, Girls' Farm	19	128	187	907	573	98	2	—	1,914
3	Gan-Shmuel	434	49	—	1,067	378	118	104	9	2,159
4	Kerkur	824	30	53	42	125	70	124	229	1,497
5	Tireh	112	246	—	—	1,689	10	252	—	2,309
6	Shehunat-Boruchov, Girls' Farm	54	106	—	634	951	83	6	29	1,863
7	Ahvah-Group, Jazur	224	4	—	—	535	60	144	58	1,045
8	Gingar-Group	1,213	44	84	—	338	58	90	15	1,827
9	Ahvah-Gingar	22	15	36	—	58	8	20	—	174
10	Markenhof	101	25	—	—	194	29	35	—	834
11	Tzrifin	158	30	39	—	46	25	589	—	887
12	Gevah	894	104	40	—	535	105	119	3	1,800
13	Hetziba, Beth-Alpha	757	74	—	537	365	94	79	51	1,957
14	Har-Kineret	99	32	42	446	281	21	74	—	995
15	Kiryat-Anavim	214	—	15	42	1,819	111	38	471	2,710
16	Petah-Tikvah, Girls' Training Farm	—	58	—	564	322	66	15	4	1,029
17	Hashomer-Hazair, Beth-Alpha	1,453	248	—	47	497	142	1,006	—	3,393
18	En-Harod	3,606	958	907	386	1,251	394	1,631	—	9,133
19	Merhaviah	1,664	88	40	183	924	172	181	—	3,257
20	Tel-Joseph	3,793	483	1,100	124	1,560	358	1,799	44	9,261
21	Kineret-Emek	881	586	95	106	921	108	326	50	3,073
22	Daganiah A.	1,240	439	188	77	1,510	211	298	75	4,038
Total	...	18,828	3,793	2,976	6,550	15,857	2,488	6,936	1,038	58,466
Percentage	...	32%	7%	5%	11%	27%	4%	12%	2%	100%

TABLE VII.

Table VII. gives the gross returns obtained from the separate branches of agriculture in 22 Kvutzoth and Girls' Training Farms for 5684 (1923—24), and shows that in these settlements the gross receipts ran to £E 58,466, or about £42 per head of those engaged agriculturally. Assuming that in the other settlements the receipts per head of those engaged in agriculture are the same, then the total gross returns in the 42 settlements can be computed at £120,000.

The gross returns in the 22 Kvutzoth are made up as follows :—

32 per cent.	from wheat growing,
7 per cent.	from vegetable culture,
5 per cent.	from tobacco,
11 per cent.	from plantations,
27 per cent.	from dairy farming,
4 per cent.	from poultry and bee keeping,
14 per cent.	from work on others' account.

Table VIII. gives a survey of the costs of maintenance for a settler during the same year. According to this table the personal expenses of a settler amount to £45 4s. a year, of which £24 8s. go for food, £3 12s. for clothing, £7 8s. for other personal expenses, £4 4s. for subscriptions, contributions, Sick Fund, etc., and £5 6s. for public expenses (*e.g.*, water supply).

Before the War, when only small means were available for sanitary purposes, the profitability of Jewish agriculture was seriously impaired by prolonged periods of illness. During recent years systematic sanitary labours have greatly increased the standard of health in the settlements. Yet even now the annual reports of 23 Kvutzoth and Girls' Training Farms for the agricultural year 1923—1924 show that still on an average about 30 days of illness are the annual lot of every worker. The minimum was 16 (Achva Jadjin), the maximum 49 (Tel Joseph).

TABLE NO. VIII.
ANNUAL CASH OUTLAYS PER MEMBER 5683 (1922-23).

No.	NAME OF SETTLEMENT.	Cost of subsistence.	General expenses.	Total.	DETAILS OF MAINTENANCE.					DETAILS OF GENERAL EXPENSES.			
					Food.	Clothing.	Educational.	Organisation.	Various.	Replacement of agricultural tools and buildings.	Official Journeys.	Interest.	Various.
		£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1	Daganiah A. (1) ...	41.0	7.7	48.7	22.5	2.9	0.8	7.4	7.4	1.5	0.7	2.3	3.2
2	Daganiah B. (2) ...	30.9	5.3	36.2	19.9	2.3	—	5.8	2.9	1.1	0.8	0.9	2.5
3	Kineret Emek ...	30.2	4.4	34.6	20.7	2.4	0.7	4.9	1.5	1.4	1.7	0.5	0.8
4	Kineret Har ...	32.4	7.6	40.4	24.1	—	0.7	5.9	1.7	0.7	1.6	0.9	4.4
5	Merhaviah ...	38.4	5.6	44.0	26.8	4.3	0.5	4.8	2.0	1.2	1.1	0.4	2.9
6	Ginger ...	31.4	5.4	36.8	18.4	6.9	1.0	4.3	0.8	1.6	—	0.2	3.6
7	Geva ...	41.7	5.1	46.8	26.8	4.4	0.1	4.8	5.6	1.0	0.6	0.9	2.6
8	Hashomer Hazair ...	34.9	5.6	40.5	21.5	2.7	0.3	5.8	4.6	0.5	2.0	0.9	2.2
9	Hefziba ...	37.1	5.7	42.8	21.1	2.0	0.2	6.9	6.9	1.2	2.2	0.6	1.7
10	Gan Shmuel ...	47.7	3.4	51.1	28.3	3.6	0.5	6.7	8.6	1.2	1.3	0.5	0.4
11	Kerkur ...	46.8	2.0	47.8	27.3	5.1	0.7	7.2	5.5	0.8	0.5	0.2	0.5
12	Tira ...	47.1	8.1	55.2	26.4	0.7(3)	0.7	4.7	14.6	3.8	0.9	0.5	2.9
13	Huldah ...	46.1	5.9	52.0	30.8	3.0	0.5	5.4	6.4	1.5	0.1	0.4	3.9
14	Kiryat Anavim ...	45.5	5.0	50.5	28.2	7.2	1.0	6.5	2.6	0.8	0.4	1.6	2.2
15	Nachlat Yehudah ...	43.4	6.7	50.1	23.8	5.1	0.4	5.9	8.2	0.4	1.1	1.2	4.0
	Average ...	39.6	5.6	45.2	24.4	3.6	0.5	5.8	5.3	1.3	1.0	0.8	2.5
	Total Percentage	88%	12%	100%	54%	8%	1%	13%	12%	3%	2%	2%	5%

(1) Includes Outlays for 17 children.

(2) Includes Outlays for 10 children.

(3) Included also in Column Various.

The costs of maintenance per day, and the costs per working day, have been worked out for 23 Zionist settlements, in the year 5684 (1923—24). Leaving the Girls' Training Farm at Nahalal out of the question, the total costs of a real working day (after discounting all days of illness and holidays), ran from 17-1 piastres (Kvutzah Tzrifin) to 32-9 piastres (Kiryat Anavim), an average of about 25 piastres. The amount varies very widely according as the expenditure for sustenance is large or small; this oscillates between 7.5 and 13 piastres. For the greater part these costs can be traced to more or less numerous days of illness and particularly to the number of children in the settlements, the cost of whose education is partly borne by the settlers as one of the general expenses of the settlements.

A detailed Profit and Loss account is available for the Kvutzoth (with the exception of Sarona-Rama and Daganiah B) for the year 5684. Besides the three Girls' Training Farms, only the Kvutzoth Daganiah A. and Tzrifin achieved a small profit. In the Kvutzoth Kineret, Ahvah Gingar, Naginget Gingar, Markenhof, En Harod, the returns show quite insignificant by the side of the expenditure. All other Kvutzoth worked at a loss. The total result in the 19 Kvutzoth and three Girls' Training Farms is a loss of £6,722; that is to say, for the 1,593 people settled in these colonies a loss per head of £4.22. An analysis of the proceeds of agriculture shows that poor returns from corn-growing have been responsible in the first place for these losses. Corn-growing has resulted in a loss to all Kvutzoth, except Merchavia, En Harod and Kineret. But vegeticulture has only small gains to show in Tire and Daganiah A; dairy-farming small gains only in the Girls' Training Farm at Petah Tikvah, in Gingar, in the two Kvutzoth in Beth Alpha, and in Daganiah A; the poultry and bee keeping only in Tire, the two Kvutzoth in Gingar, Markenhof and Tzrifin.

A Profit and Loss account for the Moshve Ovdim

cannot be given, because in these individualist settlements every settler carries on his farm on his own account, and there is no collective account embracing the whole Moshav. We have to fall back here on estimates and can say this much of the Moshve Ovdim, that the first to be founded (in the year 1921), namely Nahalal, Kfar Yehezkiel, Benshemen and Nahlat Yehudah, are nearly self-supporting. The remainder have only two years of labour behind them, as the first year was taken up with work incident to preparing the land for settlement, and they have not yet received their full equipment. It is not surprising, therefore, if they are not yet independent.

During the summer months of 1924 the Commission of Experts of the Vaad Haklout visited the Zionist settlements in order to estimate their financial requirements. The Commission reports :—

“ We first made a schedule for estimating the annual requirements of a settler, and for determining the way in which his farm should be carried on so as to cover the greatest part of these requirements. We took into account the required amount of :

(a) Food for personal use (wheat, eggs, milk, honey, vegetables).

(b) Food for draught and milk animals.

(c) Food for the fowls.

(d) Money for the acquisition of foodstuffs needed by men and animals which are not provided by the farm.

The annual quantities required have been fixed at :

(a) 180 kg. of grain for each person (45 kg. more for a labourer, *i.e.*, 225 kg.)

(b) Half a litre of milk and one egg daily for each person.

(c) 2,500—3,000 kg. of fodder for draught animals (mules).

(d) 365 kg. of fodder for an Arab cow, 750 kg. for one of mixed race, and 1,000 kg. for one of pure race.

(e) 25 kg. of poultry food for each hen.

The money required has been estimated at :—

(a) £18 annually for a single workman, and £30 annually for a family, for food, clothes, boots, contributions to the sick-fund and to the workmen's organisation.

(b) £45 for a family for taxation, schools, cattle-maintenance and general expenses of settlement. Payments of rent to the Jewish National Fund and amortisation payments to the Keren Hayesod are not taken into account, as the settler is only able to commence such payments a number of years after the definite settlement."

Basing themselves on these estimates, the committee drew up two balance sheets of the prospective income and expenditure of a family of settlers. The first balance sheet covers the first five years, the period of transition, during which the farm has not yet reached its full development. The other deals with the second period, commencing five years after final settlement, when the farm has reached its full development, and payments to the Jewish National Fund and to the Keren Hayesod are to commence. During the period of transition, the farm provides the settler with an annual surplus of nearly £E78 over and above his own consumption, all of which is absorbed into the expenditure. During the second period (Statements IIa and IIb), the annual surplus above the consumption of food will amount for the family of the settler to £129 5s. in cash as opposed to expenses amounting to £125 16s. 10d. Included in these expenses are £30, representing payments to the Jewish National Fund and the Keren Hayesod, and £11 8s. 10d., representing unforeseen expenses. The number of children in each family is assumed to be two in the first five years, later three.

STATEMENT I.

PROSPECTIVE BALANCE SHEET OF A FAMILY OF
SETTLERS DURING THE PERIOD OF TRANSITION.

First Five Years

100 *dunam* as total area of land consisting of :—

10 *dunam* of corn for the settler's family (four
persons).

30 *dunam* of forage for two cows.

30 *dunam* of forage for one draught animal.

10 *dunam* of land for seeding purposes.

5 *dunam* of vegetables.

1 *dunam* of tobacco.

4 *dunam* of roads and other uncultivable land.

10 *dunam* of plantations (for the first few years).

100 *dunam*.

Property :—

1 mule, 2 cows (mixed race), 50 chickens, 2 bee hives.

Prospective Receipts :—

From Vegetables : A
surplus over consumption of
£3 per *dunam*

£15.

From the Chickens :—
4,000 eggs. Family con-
sumption, 4 x 365, equals
1,460. Used for breeding
purposes, 140. Available
for sale, 2,400 eggs at 4 a
piastre, equals

£6.

From the Bee-hives :—
50 kg. of honey, of which 25
kg. are available for sale at
4 piastres the kg. . . .

£1.

From Cattle : 2 calves
at £4 each

£8.

From Tobacco : crop
of 1 *dunam*

£10.

£40.

Brought forward	£40
From milk: 4,000 litres,	
725 litres used for consumption,	
3,275 litres sold at 1 piastre	
a litre	£32 15.
From Corn.. ..	£15.
Total ..	£87 15.

Prospective Expenses :—

General expenses of Settlement	£18
Cattle Insurance	£5
Rates and Taxes	£10.
Purchase and Repair of Equipment	£8.
Reserve Fund	£3.
Diverse Expenses	£1.
Personal Expenditure of the	
family	£32 15s.
Total ..	£77 15s.

STATEMENT IIa.

RECEIPTS OF A FARM AFTER PERIOD OF TRANSITION
(After Five Years).

Branch of agriculture.	Product.	Area or No. of Animals.	Returns per dunam or per unit.	Total returns.	Consumption of humans and animals.	Used for seeding purposes.	Total Consumption.	Surplus or deficit.	Price per unit.	Total Returns.
Grain and Forage.	Wheat *(1)	10 dunam	100 kg.	1000 kg.	900 kg.	100 kg.	1000 kg.			
	Barley *(2)(3)	10 "	150 "	1500 "		100 "				
	Oats	13 "	150 "	1950 "	3000 "	130 "	3130 "	220 kg.		
	Vetch	4 "	120 "	480 "		150 "				
	Beans	13 "	130 "	1550 "		260 "				
	Maize	13 "	150 "	1950 "	3650 "	29 "	4199 "	129 "		
Vegetables *(4) *(5)	Forage Pumpkins and Beets	13 "	500 "	6500 "	6570 "		6570 "	70 "		
		4 "	2500 "	10000 "	9600 "		9600 "	400 "		
	Vegetables Tobacco, unirrigated. Vegetables, irrigated	4 dunam						4 dunam	£6	£24
Plantations	Wine	4 dunam	150 kg.	3000 kg.			3000 kg.		£8	£8
	Fruit	2 "	£3	£6					15/-	£22/10
	Eucalyptus	4 "						2 dunam	£3	£6
Milk Poultry Bees								4 "	£1	£4
	Cows *(6)	4	2000 litres	8000 litres	1825 litres		1825 litres	6175 litres	£1	£61/15
	Poultry *(7)	50	100 eggs	5000 eggs	3650 eggs	150 eggs	3800 eggs	1200 eggs	15/-	£3
	Beehives	2	25 kg.	50 kg.	50 kg.		50 kg.			
Total									...	£129/5

*For notes see next page.

Notes

A family consists of five people.

(1) An annual quantity of 180 kg. of wheat (average of children and adults) is needed by each human being.

(2) The surplus of barley and pumpkins will cover the deficit in seeds and fresh forage. To maintain a mule, an annual quantity of 3,000 kg. of green food, barley and oats is required.

(3) A cow requires $2\frac{1}{2}$ kg. of concentrated food-stuff each day.

(4) A cow should consume 10 kg. daily of beets and pumpkins for 8 months (Tamus—Shvat).

(5) Vegetables for sale in addition to the consumption of the family.

(6) For consumption—1 litre of milk daily for each person.

(7) For consumption—2 eggs daily for each person.

The Commission draws attention to the fact that the returns have been under-estimated if anything, although there are some settlements which are so well equipped that the figures should in their case be at least doubled.

STATEMENT II.

The annual expenditure of a settler (outside his own produce), after the period of transition was estimated by the commission to be as follows :—

Education	..	..	£10
Sick Fund	..	..	£3
Organisation	..	..	£1 4.
Party Contributions	..	..	£1 4.
Guard and Shepherd	..	..	£6
Water	..	..	£3
5 per cent. Cattle Insurance			£6
Fire insurance, 1 per cent. in the case of wooden buildings			£1

Carried forward £31 8

	Brought forward	£31 8
Administration, bookkeeper, etc.	£4	
Taxation (on the average income)	£8	
Diverse expenses (guests, etc.)	£1	
		£13 0
Repairs of buildings and equipment	£5.	
Threshing and repairs of machinery	£5	
		£10
Food	£15	
Clothes	£15	
		£30
Rent and payment of debts :		
2 per cent. on £500 to the Keren Kayemet . .	£10	
Average annual payment to Keren Hayesod . .	£20	
		£30
Total		£114 8
10 per cent. unforeseen expenses		£11 8 10
Total		£125 16 10

An increase in the profitableness of Palestinian agriculture can be obtained by (1) a decrease in the costs of production ; (2) an increase of the fertility of the soil ; (3) a better utilisation (by sale) of the agricultural produce. The two first possibilities depend on a better training of the settlers and on a better utilisation of the soil by means of improved agricultural methods. They can be achieved in the course of time by agricultural schools by instructors and by the work of the Experimental Station. But an improved utilisation of the produce by sale can be taken in hand immediately. At

present there is an immense difference between the price which the farmer obtains for his produce and that at which it is bought by the consumer. This difference goes into the pockets of countless middlemen, who have inserted themselves between the producer and the consumer. The settlers have attempted to rid themselves of these middlemen and to sell their products directly to the consumer by means of the Co-operative Purchase and Sale Companies, Hamashbir and Ossem. Yet the success of the Hamashbir (the Ossem only commenced active work in the autumn of 1924), was greatly hampered by many shortcomings in its organisation. To overcome these deficiencies, a special department for the sale of agricultural products was opened in October, 1924. During the three months, October to December, 1924, this department of the Hamashbir sold agricultural products from 36 settlements to the value of £7,771 in Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa and Tiberias. Of this sum, milk and milk products realised £6,918, vegetables £261, and the remainder (fruit, poultry, etc.), £592. The department hopes that in the near future improved conditions of transport—the railway administration is already running a regular milk-train from Semach to Haifa, and will soon introduce refrigerating waggons—will enable it to double its business and to pay the settlers much better prices than has hitherto been possible.

For this end it is important that the market should not be flooded with agricultural products. If, for instance, all settlements were to produce the same vegetables, a glut would inevitably occur. This can be avoided if different settlements cultivate different vegetables. In order that the settlers should not make any mistakes in this direction, the amount consumed of each article must be known. The Experimental Station is at present devoting itself to the collection of the statistics of the consumption and prices of all agricultural products.

CHAPTER XIV.

INTERNAL DEFECTS OF THE SETTLEMENTS.

The main difficulty confronting our agricultural settlers is the poor productiveness of the soil in comparison with other countries. Only by the most strenuous exertions can the settlements maintain themselves against the competition of Egypt and Australia. It is hoped that this difficulty will in time be eliminated by the use of improved fertilisation and agricultural methods, and by the raising of profitable animal and plant stock. But there are also other deficiencies caused not by the poor productiveness of Palestinian soil, but by the nature and character of the present settlers themselves. All these deficiencies can be traced back to one common origin, namely to a lack of agricultural training and tradition, the result of which is insufficient agricultural knowledge in the men, as insufficient domestic knowledge in the women.

The greater the demands made of the settler, the more obvious does this deficiency become ; the more complicated and comprehensive the system of agriculture, the greater will be the loss and injury caused by an insufficient preparation of the settler. It is therefore of the greatest importance that in the Moshve Ovdim, where each settler devotes himself to many branches of

agriculture, all members should have been thoroughly and comprehensively trained. The Kvutsoth can accept members with less knowledge and experience, as there the division of labour can be arranged in such a way that each member performs that branch of the work of which he is relatively the most proficient. Yet there is always the difficulty of finding somebody to regulate this division of labour and to be able to supervise and direct a large establishment. There are unfortunately not many such men available. The difficulty of directing a Kvutzah grows in proportion to its size ; consequently, the success of a large Kvutzah depends almost entirely on its having a leader who is able, either by training or by natural aptitude, to organise and direct all its activities. As long as the availability of such men is a matter of chance, a large Kvutzah will always remain a risky undertaking. The difficulty is aggravated by the fact that some of the settlers, having come to Palestine after the war, have gone through many harassing and nerve-shattering experiences in Europe, and consequently come to Palestine not with an even temperament, but full of excitability and with a mind seething with many new social ideas.

The external appearance of settlements, in the matter of orderliness and cleanliness, nearly always corresponds with the amount and quality of the training previously received by the settlers. Settlements whose members consist to a large part of agricultural labourers of long experience usually present an aspect quite different from those where the members have received only an insufficient amount of training. And again, the most clean and orderly settlements are those in which the *women* also have been trained in their work.

It would be too much to expect that a man or woman who in Eastern Europe had neither a sense of rusticity, nor a sense of order, nor a sense of beauty, should suddenly acquire all these qualities by the simple process of being transplanted to Palestine. Agricultural

training alone in this respect is not enough, because so long as they remain pupils or labourers the young man or girl feels no responsibility for the prosperity of the farm in general. A certain *flair* for management must be joined to the technical training in agriculture. Just this instinct for economising, for careful treatment of equipment, for making the best use of the produce, can only be slightly developed by the school, and has to be developed in a far higher degree by the practice of daily life. The Christian peasants in Europe acquire it as children under the parental roof. The Jewish settlers have not had this practical preparation for a rural life, and even to-day they suffer from the lack. All the more important and necessary is it therefore to show the settlers ever afresh both by instruction and by demonstration how important it is for the success of their farm that they should proceed methodically in the smallest matters. It is unfortunately only too frequent an experience to find that buildings are suffering from neglect, that tools are worn out much too quickly by unscientific or wrong use, that small articles of everyday use are continually being lost, that not enough use is made of garbage and remnants, and that expenses are incurred which are unnecessary and incompatible with the size of the settler's income. Similarly, one often finds an almost incomprehensible indifference towards small matters which disturb one's well-being, and neglect of outward appearance. Dirty and disorderly dwellings cannot be excused merely by the fact that they are overcrowded. The case of flies can be taken as an example. To any one not accustomed to their presence, the multitude of flies is more or less a torture; food covered with flies is repulsive, not to speak of the fact that flies are carriers of disease. Yet the settlers seem to take these myriads of insects as something inevitable, and have never yet attempted energetically to fight the plague. It is true that the Palestinian climate favours the increase of flies, that the proximity of the stables

makes it difficult to keep the insects away. Yet their number could be considerably decreased, if the settlers were to attempt it seriously by a systematic use of fly-nets and traps. This case is typical. The settlers seem at present to put little value on outward appearance, and neglect their clothes and habitations to an extent that is justly criticised. Of course, it must not be expected that these faults can be altogether removed by a mere order from the authorities. The settlers themselves must be brought to realise how greatly they injure their well-being by their negligence. All we can do is to emphasise these faults again and again, till the settlers themselves will set about altering their ways of life.

It must be admitted that our agricultural workers have often more capacity for intellectual than for manual work. This is a common characteristic of the whole Jewish people, a characteristic which we must regard as unchangeable. In a future time when agricultural work may become highly technical and scientific, this characteristic would be more of an advantage than otherwise. At present, however, agriculture consists largely of actual physical work, and our settlers show a distressing lack of skill in this direction. To an impartial observer they would compare very disadvantageously with farmers and agricultural labourers of other countries, and could easily and with some amount of justice be criticised. While our settlers are passing through a period of transition, such criticisms cannot be avoided. We must wait with our answer until we have produced a generation of workers, born in agriculture, who will overcome by instinct the difficulties which confronted them and their fathers. It is also questionable whether we will be able to infuse a greater sense of beauty into the present generation. Our settlers from Eastern Europe show very little appreciation for objects such as a few flowers, an occasional touch of bright paint and colour, a well-kept fence, a few

window-curtains, things which are not unnecessary luxuries, but have a definite value in life. Here also instruction and example must be the mediums by which this quality should be introduced, or rather infused into the settlers. The women especially must be taught to appreciate the beautiful.

Another important task is the improvement of *clothing* and *diet*. Our settlers have brought their East-European customs in the matter of diet and clothes with them, and have adapted them to an insufficient extent to the different conditions of Palestine. The clothing is in some cases not only ridiculous ; it is also unhygienic. The diet is usually badly chosen and not properly prepared. The settlers often tend to use expensive preserves and other imported food, neglecting native food of equal nutritive value, which they could obtain at less expense. As regards the cooking, experience shows that most women possess insufficient culinary knowledge, and, what is worse, do not make sufficient effort to improve. These conditions must be altered speedily, for the health of the settlers suffers from unsatisfactory nourishment, and an uneconomical choice of food burdens their budget with needless expenses. The importance of reform in this matter has been realised. A special committee was formed in the autumn of 1924, which, together with the Sick Fund Organisation, was to determine on the best and most suitable diet for all seasons of the year, and to supervise the cooking in the kitchens of the Kvutzoth.

All these faults which we have enumerated are not really agricultural faults. They are the inherent faults of the Jewish immigrant from Eastern Europe, which hamper him equally in other trades or occupations. The Jew of Eastern Europe has no inner relations with material things. If he owns a house, he feels no connection between the house and himself, but regards it merely as an object of wealth and income. He can never appreciate the beauty and charm of the house.

As a consequence, nearly all the houses in the Jewish parts of Palestinian towns are externally in a state of neglect. All we have said about the lack of economy, of order, and of cleanliness in the Jewish agricultural settlements holds true to a far greater extent in the case of the Jewish shops and dwellings in the towns. It is perhaps a consolation, if a poor one, that these conditions still represent a certain improvement on the conditions of the Ghetto.

This absence of any sentiment for property and of a sense of beauty is caused by the continual instability and hurry and fear of the life of the East European Jew. Political persecutions, added to the many ups and downs of the life of a merchant, could render him a beggar from one day to another. Thus he was unable to feel "at home" anywhere and at any time. Only long-lasting possession can cause an attachment to a locality, a house, a garden, property in general. When Jews will come to regard their stay in Palestine *as permanent*, they will also come to regard their dwellings no longer merely as temporary domiciles, but as homes for themselves and their children, and will gradually acquire a sense for beauty, for order, and for a proper maintenance of their possessions. We hope by that time that our settlers will appreciate an æsthetical point of view as much as they do now an ethical.

And when the East European inheritance of instability has been displaced by an attachment to Palestine, the *roving spirit*, which drives many settlers from one Kvutzah to another, and makes them take so many needless journeys, will also disappear. It is essential, however, that the settlements should provide their members with a *stimulating spiritual and intellectual life*. The dulness and the lack of all spiritual life found in European villages would, if transplanted into Palestine, be the surest way to alienate our settlers from agriculture. It is a fallacy to suppose that better results would be obtained if instead of the present

settlers, who are intellectually on a very high level, we had by a kind of *inverted selection* chosen elements with less keen and active minds. Such attempts were actually made 30 years ago in the case of Ekron and Kastinieh, and proved to be unsuccessful. The intellectual standard of the settlers in these colonies is indeed at a lower level ; but it is not counterbalanced by greater material prosperity. These colonies have, as a matter of fact, prospered even less than the others. It stands to reason that in the long run intelligence and knowledge cannot fail to be assets in agriculture, especially in the case of Palestine, where it has to forge ahead and to map out new fields for itself. The Jewish agricultural settlement cannot be a slavish copy of the European village ; there is no need whatever that it should be so. Spiritual requirements must play a much larger part and must be systematically satisfied, as the Vaad Hatarbut is with the aid of the Zionist Organisation attempting to do now. As the majority of the immigrants into Palestine are "intellectuals," we must, provided they are willing to work, do all within our means to render life in the settlements attractive to them.

SECTION IV.—

SOME POINTS OF DISPUTE.

CHAPTER XV.

INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP SETTLEMENT.

As the Kvutzah system has recently given rise to much discussion among the Zionist public, it would seem appropriate to describe this system in greater detail, and in the first instance to relate its history.

The Kvutzah did not come into existence as a deliberate social experiment, but was brought about by three main causes.

(1) The Zionist Organisation could not afford individual colonisation after the style of the Rothschild and Jewish Colonisation Association colonies.* Three Zionist institutions alone possessed any capital at that time, the Jewish National Fund, the Olive Tree Fund and the Palestine Land Development Company. Of these institutions only the J.N.F. aimed directly at the purchase of land, while the Olive Tree Fund was concerned with the planting of trees, and the P.L.D.C. with purchase and sale of land. None of these companies was ready to take up colonisation in the proper sense of the word. Thus the first Zionist farms in Kineret, in Benshemen and in Huldah were only founded by indirect methods, the J.N.F. leasing out some land to the P.L.D.C. and

*Although true, it is difficult to believe that until the foundation of the Keren Hayesod in the year 1921, the Zionist Organisation had no money whatever available for colonisation. Every complaint which I made about this untenable position before the XIth Congress (1913), was in vain. Even to the XIIth Congress (1921) I had still to point out that the Jewish National Fund, which gives just the ground to the settlers, resembled a knife without a blade and required supplementing with a Colonisation Fund.

the Olive Tree Fund, and the latter companies setting about the construction of agricultural establishments on this land, the P.L.D.C. in Kineret, the Olive Tree Fund in Benshemen and Huldah. Yet, according to the statutes of these companies, the aim of these agricultural establishments could not be actual settlement, but cultivation and development of the land in the case of the P.L.D.C., the construction of plantations in the case of the Olive Tree Fund. For these aims a Farm allowing extensive cultivation was the only solution possible. The settlement of individuals, however, did not come into consideration.

As an example the plantations of the Olive Tree Fund may be mentioned. If it had only been a question of planting one tree for each six shillings (the uniform gift for one tree), the easiest and most practical way would have been to acquire land in or near some of the existing colonies, and to transfer to the colonists the task of the plantation on the lowest terms. That this was not done, that the easier path was not chosen, but the money of the Fund used to construct, on territories of the Jewish National Fund, hitherto fallow, the farms Benshemen and Huldah and to employ exclusively young Jewish labourers without any agricultural experience, was because the plantations would in the old colonies have been worked by Arab labour, and no new settlement been established. What did happen gave Jewish workers an innings, and the result was two new settlements which stand to-day. Recent statistics trace back the early training of our best farmers to those farms in Huldah and Benshemen. Without these means of acquiring their knowledge the settlers would never have had the chance to make a start in agriculture.

2. The settlement of individuals was also impossible, as at that period no men could be found in Palestine whose agricultural training rendered them fit to work independently and to be trusted with the money

necessary for colonisation. Neither were there any women to take the place of efficient helpers to such men. All the essentials for the success of individual settlement were thus lacking. Only a system of large farms, where men worked as labourers and were instructed by an administrator, or by an appointed experienced foreman or committee, offered some security that the invested capital would not be lost.

3. Thus the lack of suitable applicants and the lack of means prevented the Zionist organisation from colonising on an individualist basis, as in the colonies of the Jewish Colonisation Association in Lower Galilee, and caused it to select the form of *extensive cultivation*. The fact that this assumed the form of the Kvutzah was due to the colonists themselves. At first, these farms were directed and administered by some agricultural expert. It soon became clear, however, that this system was extremely difficult to maintain for any length of time. There was a scarcity of men possessing both expert agricultural training and insight into the national aims of the enterprise, and into the psychology of revolutionary young workers recently come from Russia. The administrators, hailing from the middle class, who had gained their experiences in Europe among Christian working people, soon came into serious conflict with the Jewish workmen who, with their proletarian class consciousness and their high intelligence, required quite a different treatment from a Russian Moujik. The administrators frequently tended to substitute for the Jewish labourer, difficult to manage and inexperienced in agriculture, his obedient, cheap and experienced Arab rival. The Jewish labourers resented this most bitterly, as thus their only way to agricultural training and experience was closed.

Another drawback of the administrative system was the fact that the administrator treated the workers merely as paid labourers, such as are employed in similar European institutions, and denied them all say in the affairs of the establishment. Yet what the workers

desired most of all was to co-operate creatively in the development of the farm. Conditions became more and more acute until the strike weapon was used at Kinereth in 1909 as the only possible way of removing the most experienced of the workmen from the supervision of the administrator and of allowing them to settle on their own responsibility, on part of the land (Daganiah) of the J.N.F. The contract, drawn up during the heat of the conflict, contains the following points :

"We, the undersigned workmen, members of the community of Hederah, pledge ourselves to work from the present day until the end of the harvest of 1911 as workmen of the P.L.D.C. in its farm Um-El-Djum (Daganiah), and to carry out all orders of the officials of the company.

"The wages agreed upon are 50 francs a month.

"In addition, we are to receive half of the net profit of the farm. The part of the income of the farm regarded as net profit is that which remains after working expenses, and Osher and Verko on the cultivated land have been deducted. Depreciation of machinery is to be made good at $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of its value. Losses and injuries are to be deducted from the income : the whole loss in the case of equipment, and half the loss in the case of livestock. An exception is made in the case of loss of livestock resulting from infectious disease.

"If at the end of the year there be less ploughed fallow land than at the beginning, the difference must be added to the income at the local rate ; if there be more ploughed fallow land, the difference must be deducted from the income at the same rate.

"We hereby choose as directors of the work our fellows and comrades Zvi Yehudah Salzmänn and Israel Bloch.

(Signed),

"J. Baratz, Israel Bloch, Z. Y. Salzmänn,
Joseph Bussel, Ch. Zodikov."

In this fashion did the first Kvutzah come into existence. Although it was at the beginning but a small group of semi-independent labourers, it had yet, on account of the efficiency of these first members led by the large-hearted Joseph Bussel (by whose premature death the Kvutzah suffered an irreparable loss), the greatest influence on the subsequent development of colonisation.

A second step was made in 1910. By the initiative of Franz Oppenheimer, whose ideas Herzl had already warmly advocated in 1903, a farm was founded in Merhaviah for the purpose of realising Oppenheimer's plan of an agricultural co-operative community. Oppenheimer wished to retain the large farm because of its economic advantages over small holdings. In his view, however, the farm should be run, not by paid labourers, but by a group of associates who should either together own the farm from the outset, or gradually acquire absolute ownership by their work. Thus Oppenheimer thought to overcome the paid labourer's indifference towards the welfare of the undertaking in which he is employed. Labourers who were at the same time the owners of the undertaking would strive for its welfare and treat their equipment with the same care and economy with which an independent peasant runs his little farm. During the first years of its existence, which were to be a period of preparation for the real agricultural community, the farm Merhaviah was administered by an agricultural expert. This merely brought back the old administrative system. Conflicts soon ensued between the director and the workers, which were rendered more acute by the fact that the workmen, who were not a homogeneous whole, but traced back their origin to many different parts of Europe, were torn and embittered by conflicts and disputes among their own number. At the outbreak of the war the administrative system had to be dropped. The workmen elected a committee and formed a Kvutzah, which, after several changes of

membership, has finally consolidated itself and is now economically in a satisfactory position.

During the British conquest of Palestine, and especially after this period, the number of Kvutzoth increased with great rapidity. This was so because the high prices of food demanded the utilisation of all available land in the cheapest way possible. Leaving the early attempts of 1908—1910 with the administrative system out of account, the Kvutzah-system remained till 1921 the only system for the Zionist agricultural settlements. The following are the main reasons why this system was preferred to individualist settlement.

(1) If individual settlement is to succeed, the settler must have a thorough knowledge of agriculture in all its branches. Only in this way can there be any security that he will carry out his work more or less successfully. There has been only an extremely small number of such candidates for settlement available at any time. Group settlement, on the other hand, possesses the advantage that the individual can use, and at the same time supplement, his knowledge and experience of any single branch of agriculture.

(2) Once an individual colonist has definitely settled on a piece of land, he has certain rights as against the Zionist Organisation. If later he proves himself unsuitable for the purposes of colonisation, it is very difficult or even impossible to remove him from that land. Group settlement renders the connection between the settlers and their land much looser. It is a matter of considerably less difficulty to dissolve the whole group or to re-form it by an elimination of the unsuitable members.

(3) If the Kvutzah possesses a nucleus of able and efficient members, it is the best possible school for discovering the abilities of the separate members and for eliminating the undesirable elements. These processes of *selection* and *elimination* are of the greatest importance to our colonisation. All our young

immigrants come to Palestine full of enthusiasm, yet they only too often sadly over-estimate their strength and their ability to adapt themselves to an agricultural life. Only by means of this hard school of labour and by mutual criticism is it possible to distinguish the capable from the incapable, and to convince those whose only asset is enthusiasm, that in addition to that quality, bodily strength, efficiency and power to endure hardships are also essentials for agricultural work. It is thanks largely to this process of elimination in the Kvutzoth, that the standard of efficiency of the Jewish agricultural labourer in Palestine is to-day incomparably higher than it was 15 or 20 years ago. Of all the thousands that have passed through the Kvutzoth, a large part, perhaps even the majority, have dropped out. It has been a survival of the fittest. *Thus the Kvutzah can with justice be called the birthplace of the Jewish agricultural labourer in Palestine.* Part of the Halutzim had of course received a certain amount of agricultural training in Europe. Even in the most favourable cases, however, this proved insufficient. A better training was that which young men could acquire in the agricultural school of the Alliance Universelle Israelite in Mikveh Israel. Yet only shortly before the outbreak of the war, when the school passed under the administration of its present director, Mr. Krause, did it come into touch with our aims and objects. The war caused a temporary discontinuance of its activities, and only during the last two or three years has the school again been able to provide us with efficiently trained candidates for colonisation.

4. In many cases group settlement stands for a great saving of human labour. During recent years the Australian government has successfully employed the group system for the common preparation of the land designed for settlement by the whole community of settlers. In "The Times" of April 8, 1924, Major-General A. G. Wauchope says on this subject : "Sceptics

were not wanting to prophesy that men would not work with any energy or goodwill on these communal lines. But time showed them to be false prophets. All worked fairly and squarely for the common good, and the group spirit has proved strong enough to make each member do his proper share. This system saves a settler some part of his initial outlay, *for by working collectively the group can to some extent share implements and teams, and the combined labour of 20 men achieves more than 20 individuals who work separately.*" In the new Jewish settlements in the Emek Yezreel, the supporters of the Kvutzah point to the fact that while in the Moshve Ovdim each of the 60 or 80 settlers is obliged to get up at midnight to milk the cows and to convey the milk to the dairy-works for transport by the night-train, such a task is in the Kvutzah performed by a certain few members, while the rest can sleep undisturbed.

5. *Group settlement requires a smaller initial investment than individual settlement.* A large house and a large stable for the use of a group are comparatively cheaper to construct than a corresponding number of separate houses and stables. The acquisition of the general equipment is also less expensive.* As the means at the disposal of the Zionist Organisation before the war were *ridiculously* small, this was in itself cause enough for preference to be given to group settlement. It was not a question between collective and individual settlement: it was a question of group settlement or nothing at all. The total sum of money (not counting purchase of land), expended during the years 1908—1914 by *all* the institutions of the Zionist Organisation (J.N.F., P.L.D.C., Olive Tree Fund and Settlement Association), for the purpose of agricultural colonisation amounted to less than £20,000. And even this small

*As an example: In an individual settlement each settler must own a cart, which he uses from time to time for purposes of transport, but which at other, probably longer periods, stands idle. Therefore, while a settlement of 60—80 individual colonists needs the same number of carts, a Kvutzah of similar size will probably only need 20—30 carts.

sum could not be used for any purpose desired. If it could have been employed at the discretion of the Organisation, it might perhaps have been best to use it for the construction of an agricultural school and experimental station. This, however, was impossible, since all the above institutions were obliged to use their funds for certain definite purposes, *e.g.*, the plantation of trees, the founding of a farm, amelioration and parcellation of land, etc., and to consider the employment of Jewish labour merely as a means and not as an end. *Thus the first farms were willy-nilly obliged to play the additional parts of schools and experimental stations.*

For us there can be no doubt that such conditions made any other form of colonisation but that of the Kvutzah impossible. Yet should we still adhere to it now ? The following arguments and counter arguments on this question have been brought forward by the supporters of collective and of individual settlement respectively :

(1) The individual settler, being the owner of his property, has a stronger incentive for economy and thrift. He knows that the fruits of his labour will be reaped only by himself and by his family, and is spurred on to greater efforts by his own interest. The opponents of the Kvutzah maintain that this incentive is lost in group settlement. The capable must suffer for the mistakes of the incapable, and all in consequence tend to become careless and negligent. Tools and equipment not being regarded by the settlers as their own personal property, are treated in a less economic fashion. In this way were the deficits of the Kvutzoth produced. The supporters of the latter system answer these arguments by maintaining that inefficient members will soon be removed by a rigorous process of elimination, so that the remainder will be more or less of the same standard of ability. Moreover, when once a group has consolidated itself by several years of gradual elimination, an attachment to the work and the ambition to render

the Kvutzah self-supporting will give the same security for thrift and economy as the private interest of the individual settler.

(2) It has been further said against the Kvutzoth that they are always undergoing change of membership ; that members who have acquired some local knowledge are continually being exchanged for newcomers, whose inexperience usually causes the exchange to be a loss to the Kvutzah. This instability and inconstancy of the workmen is not caused by a process of elimination, but by the roving spirit of the agricultural labourers, which makes them regard it an adventure and attraction to work in a different Kvutzah every year. The answer to this is that this "wanderlust" has considerably decreased during recent years.

(3) It is further objected that the committee elected by the group for the purpose of directing and supervising the work do not possess sufficient agricultural experience and therefore often commit grave technical blunders. This assertion is not denied by the supporters of the Kvutzah. They admit that, especially in the beginning of colonisation, the leaders of the Kvutzah often proved unequal to their task. There were altogether never enough agriculturally trained men available, so that the Kvutzoth were also affected.* In proportion to the increase in the number of skilled agricultural workers the management of the Kvutzoth has also improved. The managers of the Kvutzoth in Daganiah, Kineret, Merhaviah, upon whom ten years ago the old colonists looked down as inexperienced young men, are to-day invariably treated with respect, and have vastly improved the standard of work in their settlements.

(4) Fourthly, it has been said that even if the Kvutzah could be justified as the best system for young

*Neither were there sufficient expert "administrators" even though these could be chosen from outside. Not even to-day have we sufficient candidates to be able to pick and choose.

unmarried men and women, it would be impossible to continue in when the members grow older, marry, and have children. Conflicts will arise inside the Kvutzah, and the more advanced age of the members will make it impossible to remove dissenters by a simple process of elimination. On the other hand, it will be impossible to continue the system in the presence of general, deep-rooted conflicts ; thus the only solution will be to divide the establishment and to assign to each individual member his building and his plot of land. But what is in such a case to be done with the large communal buildings ? To this argument the supporters of the Kvutzah reply that the probability of the dissolution of the Kvutsoth into individual settlements is very remote, and that the common buildings could always be utilised as schools, clubs, kindergartens, common dairy works, and as dwellings for young unmarried workmen and women.

Our own views on this subject can be put briefly as follows :—

(1) Conditions in the past, such as the lack of experienced men and the lack of means, made the Kvutzah system the only system possible to the Zionist Organisation before the war if fresh ground was to be broken in colonisation.

(2) The Kvutzah has separated the capable workers from those incapable by a process of elimination, and has become the birthplace of the new agricultural workers of Palestine.

(3) The results obtained in the Kvutsoth do not compare unfavourably with those obtained in individual settlements.

(4) The costs of construction are smaller in the case of a Kvutzah than in the case of an individual settlement.

(5) The so-called " deficits " are caused largely by the fact that the members are new-comers in agriculture. Apart from this, the Zionist Organisation could not

immediately place the sums of money necessary for the complete equipment of the Kvutzoth at the latter's disposal, but only did so during the course of a number of years. Naturally, the income derived from agriculture with incomplete equipment could not be up to the normal standard.

(6) Now that there are sufficient agriculturally experienced workers available for colonisation, and that the Zionist Organisation has means incomparably larger at its disposal than during the previous period, the motives which induced the Organisation in the beginning of its colonising activities to give its preference to group settlement have all disappeared. *Collective and individual settlement are to-day equally possible.* The request of settlers who, connected by ties of friendship, desire to settle as a group, can be granted without any hesitation, if their intended establishment will not be too large to be guided and directed by the most experienced of their number. In such a case the common spirit and enthusiasm which characterises such a group as opposed to individual settlers, are assets valuable enough to outweigh any possible disadvantages.

The fate of a Kvutzah depends to a large part on the quality of its management. There are unfortunately not too many men with the qualities of a leader to be found in Palestine. But even disregarding this fact, it is clear that the ability of even the best agricultural worker in the direction of managing has its limits. He may be fully capable of managing a farm of 20 to 30 or even 40 members, especially if he can count on the aid of the Experimental Station and its inspectors in technical questions. But the difficulty of finding suitable directors of the work among the workmen themselves increases with the size of the farm. This difficulty is an objection of considerable weight against the large Kvutzah. The latter ought therefore to consist not of one undivided whole, but of several farms lying close to one another, *technically independent, though socially inter-connected.*

(7) None of the new social formations can be certain of its existence for all future time. For a long time yet there must be changes and transitions from one system to another. Even in the case of Kvutsoth consolidated for several years, one cannot be certain whether in another five or ten years' time dissensions among the members will not prevent any continuation on a collective basis, and demand a division of the farm into small separate units. In such a case the large common buildings of the Kvutzah could no longer be used for their original purposes. The buildings of a Kvutzah ought therefore to be constructed in such a way that in the case of change they could be converted to the uses of an individualist settlement without any great loss.

In all that has been said about the Kvutsoth, only such groups have been understood under that name as have permanently settled as definite groups, and have received their complete agricultural equipment. We have purposely omitted all Kvutsoth founded for temporary purposes, such as amelioration of the land, plantation and afforestation work, etc. Similarly, we have left out groups without any fixed membership, only cultivating a piece of land for a certain time (occupation and preparation groups). Many confused conceptions of the Kvutzah have been formed because *the three different purposes of group work, that of the piece-work group for non-agricultural work, that of the occupation group for temporary or preliminary agricultural work, and that of the group of settlers for permanent agricultural work, have not been sufficiently distinguished from each other.* Especially between the occupation group *without* any consolidated membership, and the permanent agricultural group *with* consolidated membership must the difference be emphasized. It may happen that in the course of a few years the occupation group will, by a process of elimination, grow into a group of permanent settlers. Yet this is not necessarily the rule. It is

absolutely wrong and dangerous to enter into any agreements with a view to permanent settlement with an occupation group consisting of accidentally collected members of little or no agricultural experience. Only groups which have obtained a consolidated membership after several years of common work may be considered for agricultural settlement.

Interest attaches to the fact that the rural settlement of Jews in the Crimea and the Ukraine, recently started with the help of the American Joint Distribution Committee, also employs to a large extent the form of the Kvutzah—and this not from political motives, but by reason of its usefulness. Results have shown that Jews accustom themselves most easily to their new life if groups of 20 or 30 members, coming from the same town and the same milieu, settle together and cultivate the ground in common. This joint cultivation, however, holds good only for field work, the ground, draught animals and machines being common property of the group. But on the other hand, the buildings, the courtyard and the milking cows are the private property of each settler. We have here a mixed form of Kvutzah and Moshav Ovdim.

For a settler to be successful he must as a matter of course possess *enthusiasm and efficiency*. In a rustic calling this applies not only to the settler, but to his wife as well. This golden combination: enthusiasm and proficiency, must be doubled by marriage. Yet nowhere among Jews in Europe is agricultural efficiency taken into account when a marriage is made. This has had the distressing consequence that many married emigrants from Europe are unsuccessful, even if they themselves can adapt themselves to an agricultural life, because they are hampered by inefficient wives. If the settlers marry Palestinian women who have had no agricultural experience, success is also very doubtful. It is a pure lottery whether the woman will prove an efficient partner or not. On the other hand, the girls who are

performing most difficult work in the Kvutzoth provide a field of selection which is further improved by the process of elimination. Thus the fact that young men and women can work side by side in the Kvutzoth strengthens the probability that the most important decision in the life of a settler, his choice of a partner in life, will be a right one.

In the foregoing we have put the pros and cons about the Kvutzah with intentional moderation. But the fact is, that to understand the development in Palestine and the struggle raging round the Kvutzah is impossible if the social form of our settlement is looked upon as a question of mere utility and expediency. For our settlers it is more than that.

The hope that the Kvutzah is at the same time a better social system, that it avoids many of the failings of capitalist and individualist agriculture, that it is another step in the social progress of man, this hope has imbued the settlers, especially those who have come from countries of Eastern Europe, which are at present in a state of ferment, with such great energy that they were able to overcome difficulties to which they might otherwise have succumbed. They have come to look upon themselves, upon their agricultural work, *sub specie æternitatis*, as work not only essential to the erection of a National Jewish Home in Palestine, but also closely connected with the social progress of all mankind. "Man lives not from bread alone." This is more than ever true in the case of the Palestinian settlers.

It can be argued against the Kvutzah that up to now all attempts at agriculture on a collective basis have proved failures, unless they were supported by great religious fervour. The national enthusiasm of our settlers is a counterpart of religious enthusiasm. For the ordinary person who regards agriculture solely as a means of existence, the Kvutzah is unthinkable, but the same objection which can be brought against it, namely that it is contrary to all economic experiences of

the rest of the world, can be brought against the theory of Zionism. Sometimes Zionism has been called a Utopian conception. It is essentially Utopian from the standpoint of all "realists," who cannot understand that our actions may have been influenced by motives other than those of an economic nature. From a purely economic point of view it was indeed a venture optimistic to a Utopian degree to try to bring back Jews from highly civilised countries into one primitive and backward, to turn an urban population of merchants and traders into farmers and villagers. But neither Zionism nor the Kvutzah can be regarded purely as economic phenomena, for both are attempts to overcome the everyday economic rules governing the material well-being of the individual by means of nobler passions, by men's love of liberty, of equality, of existence as a nation, and of a fairer order of society.

CHAPTER XVI.

EXTENSIVE v. INTENSIVE CULTIVATION.

By choosing the system of mixed farming for its agricultural settlements, the Zionist Organisation has raised some opposition. The opponents of the system point to the fact that mixed farming, still consisting largely of grain cultivation, is not a paying system and will never pay, since the competition of larger and more fertile countries such as Australia, Canada or the Argentine will always be too strong. The opposition has recently been strengthened by two other arguments, drawn from the great profits made by the orange plantations near Jaffa and by the farms raising poultry, eggs, and vegetables for the consumption of the rapidly increasing population of Tel Aviv. As the produce of the Jewish settlements is not sufficient for the latter purpose, German colonists and Arab villages have been and are still reaping most of the benefit.

In his treatise, "Small Holding and Irrigation" (1920), Dr. Soskin has proposed and developed the idea of abandoning the system of mixed farming on areas of 100 dunam of irrigated land for each settler, and of allotting each family 5 dunam of *irrigated* land and 5 dunam unirrigated land for the purpose of *intensive* cultivation. On this area the settler should devote himself mainly to the cultivation of vegetables. After

a consultation with Professor Mead* Dr. Soskin drew up the following scheme :—

Two dunam of vegetables, two dunam of bananas, three dunam of tobacco, one dunam of mulberry trees for the breeding of silk-worms, and two dunam occupied by buildings and the poultry yard. The advantages of this system, which is more or less an approach to horticulture, are, as Dr. Soskin claims, that it is better adapted or adaptable to the Jewish mentality, and that the land can be prepared for cultivation by the common machinery owned and worked jointly by the settlement. The individual settler would therefore need no private machinery or large tools, no draught-animals and no stables. Cows are unnecessary, and a few goats will, in addition to the poultry, be sufficient. By these economies, and because of the small area of land required, it will according to Dr. Soskin be possible to reduce the expenses of settlement of one family to £500, as opposed to the £1,000—£1,100 required by the system of mixed farming.

Dr. Soskin is convinced that in so far as the vegetable produce will exceed the consumption of Palestine itself, it will be possible for it to be exported either in the fresh or preserved state.

This system of intensive agriculture has not yet been employed in Palestine. It is true that there are certain colonists in Vadi Hanin, who work small private orange plantations of 15—20 dunam each, and who, mainly owing to the high prices of oranges in England during the last few years, have made a good living. Yet this system differs from that advocated by Dr. Soskin in that the construction of such a plantation requires a capital of £900—£1,200. To this sum, the first fruits being obtained only after a period of five or six years, the costs for the maintenance of the settler and for the upkeep of the building, and also

*Elwood Mead : "Agricultural Development in Palestine," London, 1924, page 18.

the interest for that period on the capital invested, must be added, which will bring the whole amount to £1,500—£1,800. Even if the settler can in the meantime earn by cultivating by-products, such as lucerne, in connection with dairy and poultry farming, the expenses of such a plantation could not be reduced below £1,200—£1,500.

Dr. Soskin therefore supports his arguments not by experience in Palestine, but by the examples of other countries. He points out that in other countries vegetables are intensively cultivated on small areas for the purposes of export, and concludes that this must be equally possible in Palestine. He bases this assumption on the fact that the great warmth of its sun must cause Palestine to be more suitable¹ for the cultivation of vegetables and of fruit² than other countries; and that the produce can be readily exported both in the fresh and preserved state.³ The export market is essential, as Soskin himself realises that "nine-tenths of the population of Palestine do not need our products, while the remaining tenth are not in the position to pay us prices such as are paid in Europe for essential articles of food such as potatoes, onions, tomatoes, etc., by large parts of the population." Dr. Soskin does not for one moment entertain any doubt of the ability of Palestine to compete against other countries on the world market. For example: "It is not Palestine that need fear foreign competition, but the intensivists who are

(1) In the "Jüdische Rundschau" of August 1st, 1924 Dr. Soskin informs the Directors of Colonisation "that they have not estimated at its proper value the most prominent natural quality of Palestine, namely, the warm and frequent *sunshine*." And again further on: "Up to now, two most important factors in our colonisation have not been taken into sufficient consideration, namely, the beautiful *sunshine* which is always available, and the water, which can be used wherever available, and can be transported to districts where as yet there is none."

(2) "The greatest and most profitable form of intensity can be obtained in the cultivation of fruit and vegetables." Soskin in the "Jüdische Rundschau" of August 1st, 1924.

(3) "I base intensive agriculture mainly on export." Soskin in the "Jüdische Rundschau" of August 8th, 1924.

at present producing great quantities of fruits and vegetables in Holland, Belgium, France and England, especially in the neighbourhood of large towns. While they are compelled to use artificial heat, which adds enormously to their expenses, Palestine possesses and should therefore make full use of the natural warmth of its sun."

This argument seems to contain a most remarkable fallacy. The point in question is not whether Palestine is able to compete against the hothouses of Belgium and Holland, but whether Jewish settlers in Palestine are able to compete *against other Mediterranean countries*. Dr. Soskin, by placing Palestine and other Mediterranean countries on equal terms as regards conditions of production, does not solve the difficulty so much as omit it. The *real* difficulty lies in the competition of other Mediterranean countries, many of which possess great natural and economic advantages over the settlers in Palestine.

Considering the question from this new aspect, the *monopoly of sunshine* assigned to Palestine by Soskin *immediately disappears*. Egypt, Syria, Algiers, Tunis, Malta, Spain and Sicily have approximately the same mean temperature as Palestine. Sicily produces immense quantities of vegetables, especially tomatoes, which it brings on the market at extraordinarily low prices either as fresh tomatoes or as tomato-squash. As the standard of life of the workers employed in the cultivation and manufacture of the vegetable products is very primitive, wages very low, and Sicily geographically very favourably situated, it is extremely doubtful whether Palestine will ever be able to compete against it with any hope of success.

The prospects of the other cultures suggested by Dr. Soskin, bananas, tobacco, silkworms, are not much better. Bananas thrive with certainty only in the valley of the Jordan, which is absolutely free from frost. In the maritime regions a certain risk is inevitable, as one

single frosty night (which occurs once every few years) is sufficient to destroy a whole year's crop. There are as yet only a few small banana plantations in Palestine which sell their produce in the country itself. Any considerable increase in the production would exceed the demand of the Palestinian market, and would therefore necessitate exportation. This, however, would be extremely difficult, if not totally impossible, because Egypt can produce bananas much more cheaply than Palestine, and because the Syrian plantations of Sidon, Beirut and Tripolis have always kept Palestinian bananas out of the market of Damascus. The case of *tobacco* is different, for its cultivation is but in its beginnings. Nevertheless, the production of tobacco, estimated in 1924 by the Palestinian government to be 1,200,000 kg. of Turkish and 550,000 kg. of native (Baladi) tobacco, already amounts to thrice the Palestinian consumption. With the exception of a certain quantity bought by a Jewish tobacco merchant, no opportunity has yet been found to dispose of the surplus at a paying price. It is not at all certain whether Palestine will be able to compete against the similar tobacco of countries such as Bulgaria or Macedonia, if it produces it in *large quantities*, instead of concentrating, as it has been doing up to now, upon *quality* in certain favourable, though limited, mountain regions in Upper Galilee. The future of tobacco is altogether too uncertain to include it to a large extent in the system of mixed farming. Moreover, tobacco thrives best not in the hottest countries, but in cooler regions such as Bulgaria or Macedonia. As regards the cultivation of the mulberry, it was proved an absolute failure twenty years ago in the Rothschild colonies. Even in the Lebanon, where much cheap labour of women and children is available (this would not be so in the Jewish settlements), the enlarged silk-worm industry has by no means a rosy outlook owing to the competition of Eastern Asia. We have therefore no proof that Palestine will be able to compete in this

industry with the world market. And again the cultivation of the mulberry is not limited to the hot countries, but extends to the foot of the Alps.

If therefore the first factor, of which Soskin makes so much, namely, the heat of the sun, cannot protect Palestine from the competition of other Mediterranean countries, no more can the second factor, the *possibility of irrigation*, do so. Here we come up against the competition of the most dangerous rival, the country which knows no other but irrigated agricultural land, namely, *Egypt*. Even the superficial observer must, if weighing the chances of Palestinian agriculture, consider the question of Egyptian competition. Yet curiously enough the supporters of intensive agriculture persist in regarding this danger as negligible. By the official statistics of 1923 the Egyptian area of cultivated land amounted to 8,103,845 feddan, which would correspond to 38,000,000 dunam. *The whole of this large area from the first feddan to the last is irrigated*, as all the land out of reach of the waters of the Nile is desert and totally uncultivable (1)*. And then let this mighty area be compared with the total area of irrigated land in Palestine, which amounts to-day to less than 100,000 dunam, and which will, even in the opinion of the most sanguine optimists, never rise above one million dunam! It must not be forgotten that only a third of the whole area of Palestine is cultivable land, the rest consisting of bare mountain sides, lakes, sand-dunes, and the waterless desert in the Negeb. With a large increase in population the cultivated portion may be increased to 50 per cent. of the total area, *i.e.*, to 10—11 million dunam. But it must be remembered that Palestine is pre-eminently a mountainous or hilly country. Therefore, even if a cheap and unlimited supply of water were everywhere available, only the small part consisting of level stretches

* (1) The whole cultivated area of Egypt is divided into 1,715,150 feddan of cotton, 1,379,037 feddan of clover, 4,573,311 feddan of grain, 16,361 feddan of melons and vegetables, 179,087 feddan of rice, 33,096 feddan of fruit, 127,803 feddan of other products.

could be used for the purposes of irrigation. It should therefore be clear that, as regards agriculture on irrigated land, Palestine can never be more than a small appendage of Egypt, and that it can dispose of its products on the world market only if able to compete on equal terms with the rich, fertile soil and natural irrigation of the Nile Valley.

The question which we must now ask ourselves is this : Are the chances of Palestine in this competition with Egypt sufficiently favourable to guarantee our system of colonisation on the basis of intensive, irrigated cultivation ? To us, the answer seems to be essentially in the negative. There are four great advantages which Egypt possesses over Palestine :—

(1) The annual flood of the Nile deposits a rich alluvial slime on the soil, which fertilises it to such an extent that in this respect the Palestinian soil is left far behind. Moreover, as all the land is on a level, or, if anything, slightly inclined towards the Nile, it possesses the most favourable natural conditions for irrigation.

(2) Irrigation in Egypt is therefore a much simpler and cheaper process than in Palestine ; the water is brought to the land either by the flood itself, or is raised a few feet by means of primitive appliances.

(3) The capital needed by an Egyptian fellah in order to start in agriculture is, if compared to that required by a Jewish settler, ridiculously small.

(4) The Egyptian fellah, for thousands of years the basest of slaves, has retained to the present day an astonishing low standard of life, and therefore needs an income but a third in amount of that required by the Jewish settler, if the latter wishes to live more or less as a civilised man. This low level of life enables Egypt successfully to cultivate cotton and cane sugar, which pay even in America only where plenty of cheap coloured labour is available. Recently even the standard of life of the coloured labourer of the plantations of the Southern

States has risen above that of the fellah. And, in addition, nowhere is the system of cheap labour of children and women developed to such an extent as in Egypt.

It is, I think, unnecessary to enlarge on (1) and (2), the natural advantages of Egypt. A few words may, however, be added to (3) and (4), the country's economic advantages over Palestine.

Chamberet¹ following George Lagrain, "The Position of the Fellah in Karnak (Upper Egypt)" says that the costs of construction of the fellah's clay hovel of air-dried bricks are 7 frs. 40 centimes, *i.e.*, 30 piastres. And this absurdly small sum constitutes his whole expenditure on building! Though this may seem incredible, those who have seen the absolutely animal way in which the fellah lives, will quite believe it. For tools, in other words for a single spade, the fellah expends, on the authority of the same author, 3 frs. 25 centimes, *i.e.*, 13 piastres. Some, more opulent than their fellows, own in addition a few head of poultry. The very wealthy also own a poor species of cow. And only in the rarest cases does the capital of the fellah amount to £40. If he owns any land, he seldom owns more than half a feddan worth £50—£100. Usually, however, the fellah is a copyholder on the estate of some wealthy landowner.

The greatest advantage of Egypt is its extraordinarily low standard of wages. Piot Bey ("Causeries Ethnographiques sur le Fellah," 1909) states that the wages of a 12-hour day amount to 3 piastres in the case of an experienced labourer, 1 piastre in the case of a young labourer or a woman, and half a piastre in the case of a child. As everywhere, wages have also risen in Egypt since the statistics of 1909. Yet even to-day they do not exceed five piastres for adult labourers and

(1) "Enquête sur la condition du Fellah Egyptien," page 13. Paris 1909.

2—3 piastres for women and children. The following rate of wages was set up by the administrators of a great landowner near Mansourah : labourers employed in ploughing and irrigation work receive five piastres a day ; labourers employed in seeding and weeding (mostly women and children) receive three piastres a day ; a watchman over the fields receives £2 a month. One can obtain an idea of the extraordinary cheapness of human labour under this system by the fact that the primitive old *Shaduw* or water-bucket is still largely used in irrigation ; in many cases it does not even pay the landowner to build a water-wheel turned by an animal (not to speak of a small motor, such as could be easily obtained), since human labour in the end turns out to be cheaper than that of animals. For instance, I observed in the neighbourhood of Luxor that three labourers, standing one above the other three or four metres apart, were raising water for irrigation purposes—by means of water-buckets ! They raised it from a lower into a higher reservoir and from the higher into one higher still. These men managed to lift ten buckets-full of ten litres each in one minute (*i.e.*, 100 litres per minutes or six cubic metres per hour, or 72 metres per day of twelve hours) to a height of approximately twelve metres. Their daily wages amounted to five piastres each, *i.e.*, to 15 piastres for the three. The raising of 72 cubic metres of water to this height would have been more expensive had the landowner employed a water-wheel driven by animal or motor power.

It stands to reason that products raised on easily irrigated and fertile soil, requiring only little capital and produced by extraordinarily cheap labour will in consequence be extremely cheap. The average wholesale prices of certain more important agricultural products in Alexandria (obtained from the monthly Agricultural Statistics, December, 1923), are as follows :

	100 eggs piastres.	1 kantar (49.9 kg.) tomatoes piastres.	100 okes (135 kg.) of onions piastres.	44 okes (55 kg.) of potatoes piastres.
January ..	41.8	36	45	34.5
February ..	30	42	38	36
March ..	30.1	54	40	34
April ..	26	90	39	42
May ..	24	44	33	44
June ..	20.7	32	31	41.9
July ..	22	27	29	32
August ..	23.6	22	32	—
September ..	29	20	—	—
October ..	31.3	36	45	—
November ..	38	26	48	—
December ..	31.3	14	68	39

The average retail prices of milk in Alexandria (the statistics did not give wholesale prices), amounted to 1.6 piastres per bottle (1lb.). All these prices are far below the prices of similar products in Palestine. Egyptian exports during the first eleven months of 1924 amounted to 116,000,000 eggs, to the value of £483,000, 1,756 tons of potatoes, to the value of £13,500, 116,000 tons of onions, to the value of £651,000, and 921 tons of tomatoes, to the value of £6,800.

Even in Palestine itself Egypt is able to compete against native agriculture; in spite of the costs of transport, the 8 per cent. protective duty and the profit of middlemen, Egypt imported into Palestine from January—November, 1924 :—

336,679 kg. of potatoes to the value of £2,184.

254,779 kg. of onions to the value of £1,011.

242,297 kg. of tomatoes to the value of £2,275.

133,962 kg. of different vegetables to the value of £1,655.

This export into Palestine is facilitated by the fact that at periods when a certain vegetable is rare in Palestine, Egypt possesses it in superfluity *e.g.*,

Egyptian tomatoes are ripe in December, when the supply in Palestine has already been nearly exhausted. Before the construction of the connecting railway-line, Jericho supplied the Jerusalem market with tomatoes ; it has now been ousted from there by the competition of Egypt. This difference in the period of ripeness is also an obstacle in the way of the cultivation of "primeurs" in Palestine. It would be of little avail to produce a certain vegetable (with increased expenses) in May instead of June or July, if Egypt also produces it, and in abundance, at the same period.

Still, taking everything into consideration, the duties, the costs of transport and other difficulties will, it is hoped, protect *Palestine itself* to a certain degree against the importation of Egyptian vegetables.* This protective barrier, however, ceases to exist in the case of the *world market*. There, the advantages of Egypt are so obvious that everything points to the impossibility of competing successfully with our more favoured neighbours. We can only hope to succeed in the case of some products, such as watermelons or Jaffa oranges, which, on account of special climatic conditions, seem to thrive better in Palestine than in Egypt. Perhaps olives may also be mentioned here, as their fruit, independent of irrigation, is scarcely cultivated in Egypt. Grapes for eating purposes, which also are not irrigated in Palestine, are cultivated in Egypt only in a certain district (in Fayum), and can only be produced during a certain period (July). Palestinian grapes can therefore be readily exported into Egypt.

We therefore see that Dr. Soskin's argument that the products of irrigated agriculture can be profitably sold on the world market is not supported by actual facts and conditions ; his other arguments for intensive

*A short while ago (in April 1925) protection against Egypt was extended to native vegetable culture by the fact that in Egypt an insect blight attacked the vegetables and the Palestine Administration temporarily forbade their importation.

colonisation are also extremely debatable because :—

(1) From the Zionist point of view it is of great importance that the Jewish-owned area of land should be increased as rapidly as possible ; naturally this aim would not be furthered by the adoption of the intensive system on small areas.

(2) Whether there will actually be any saving in the costs of settlement, if Soskin's scheme is adopted, is also a debatable point ; good communications to most parts of the country are absolutely essential for an intensive cultivation of vegetables. The higher price of such land, with the additional expenses for deep-ploughing, extermination of the indjil (deep-rooted weed), increased fertilisation, and irrigation, will reduce the difference between the costs for 10 dunam of such land or 100 dunam of land for mixed farming to about £200.

A much smaller area of land will on the other hand pass into the possession of the Jewish people. The actual dwellings will not be any cheaper under Soskin's system than under the other. A certain amount of expense will be saved by the absence of stables (if indeed it be possible for the settler to exist without cows and draught animals), which, assuming that the burden of the co-operative stables of the settlement will rest but lightly on the individual settler, would amount to £100 or £120.

Moreover, Dr. Soskin's supposition that £500 and 10 dunam land would suffice for the settlement of a family and the construction of an irrigated farm does not tally with experiences in other countries. On page 21 of his report of 1924, "Agricultural Development of Palestine," Elwood Mead states : "Investigations recently carried out by the Government of the U.S.A. have shown that the average costs of the construction and equipment of a small irrigated farm amount to £1,500. In Australia, where an irrigated farm is from 15 to 40 acres (65—180 dunam) in size, detailed investigations

have shown that the construction of such a farm requires a capital of £1,000—£2,000." In the same report Mead says with regard to intensive cultivation in Palestine: "The success of intensive cultures depends on the experience of the settler. A skilled gardener will be more successful on a small area than an unskilled beginner. Almost all settlers in Palestine will be unskilled people. It is, therefore, advisable to let each farmer first obtain sufficiently large stretches to enable him to begin with husbandry and plantations. As soon as they gain experience and markets have been found for special produce, then intensive farming can be attempted." On page 12 of his treatise, "The Rural Credit System Needed in Western Development," he states, that 20—40 acres (90—180) dunam are necessary for the settlement of one family in California.

(3) Palestine is to the extent of two-thirds of its area a mountainous country, and only a small part of the remaining third can be irrigated without excessive expenditure. Should then Jewish colonisation disregard nine-tenths of Palestine and cling to the remaining tenth? Or should not rather the system of colonisation adapt itself to the general character of the country?

Summing up all the arguments for and against Soskin's scheme we arrive at the following results:

(1) It is correct to assume that it is the duty of the Jewish agricultural settlements to supply the towns, and especially the Jewish population, with dairy products, vegetables, poultry and eggs. Fifteen years ago the old colonies were not able to supply any milk, vegetables or poultry; to-day all this has been entirely altered, but there is still plenty of room for improvement. Only one-third of the consumption of Tel Aviv is, for example, provided by Jewish producers. Thus we ought to increase our production to a considerable extent.

(2) It is as yet undecided whether it is more profitable that eggs, poultry, vegetables and fruit should be produced by small holders devoting themselves

exclusively to the cultivation of these products on small areas, or whether they should rather be produced as by-products of a mixed farming system comprising mainly wheat, barley and dairy farming. Nothing has yet been done to show that the small holder devoting himself exclusively to the cultivation of above products will have enough work to occupy his time at all periods of the year. Nor has it been proved that the system of mixed farming is not superior to that of small holdings, since under the former system the farm provides the settler with manure and poultry-food, which, under the latter system, must be bought from outside.

(3) Even if the small holder will be able to dispose of his produce at favourable prices in Palestinian towns, this does not prove that this system of colonisation will still pay when, *the home markets having been satisfied, the produce must be put on the world market.* It seems extremely difficult, if not impossible, to export either fresh or preserved fruit and vegetables if wages in Egypt remain at a level as low as that of the present day. It was hoped that early vegetables could be produced and sold at very good prices. Such vegetables, however, depend entirely on the existence of a large class of wealthy buyers. At present this class is very small and good prices can therefore be obtained for early vegetables only if produced in very small quantities.

(4) A small intensive vegetable farm has the best chances of success if situated near a town sufficiently large or wealthy to buy all the produce. The rapid concentration of some 30,000 active and more or less well-off Jews in Tel Aviv (which town contained no more than 13,000 inhabitants at the end of 1922 !), has created a large new market for vegetables, sufficiently large to warrant the existence of a Jewish settlement, cultivating solely vegetables, in the neighbourhood of the town. Everything points to the fact that such a settlement would be highly successful. The outlook is similar in the case of Haifa or Jaffa. Nevertheless,

we must beware of increasing the production to such an extent that it will exceed the consumption, for even the smallest excess would cause a ruinous drop in prices. Moreover, the Arab peasant excels in the cultivation of vegetables ; there are the most excellent Arab vegetable fields in Siloah, near Jerusalem, or in the neighbourhood of Jaffa and Acre. This produce comes on the market at comparatively low prices, as the Arab, not depending on any middlemen, sends his wife to take the vegetables on the market, where they are sold directly to the consumer. Jewish vegetables, on the other hand, are rendered more expensive by the costs of transport, and by the fact that they pass several times through the hands of middlemen.

(5) Thus there are many dangers and difficulties to be overcome even if the intensive system is to succeed only in the neighbourhood of Tel Aviv. Yet the chances of success are not so small as not to warrant a trial of the system. Experience will then show us to what degree the system can be extended, and whether it will indeed become possible to *export* fresh or preserved vegetables. Practical tests will give us the best solution of this question, and will decide the fate of the intensive system.

(6) It would, however, be quite wrong on account of reasons purely theoretical and far from incontestable to regard our whole colonisation based on mixed farming as mistaken, and to demand an immediate change to the intensive colonisation without giving the latter system a practical trial. After such unparalleled sacrifices have been made by our settlers, after there has been such obvious and clear progress during the last fifteen years, it would be the height of recklessness and inconstancy for the Zionist Organisation even to think of discarding the system under which all this advance has been made for the sake of merely theoretical arguments. Even if many Zionists tend to be somewhat too impatient, to be dissatisfied with slow, though steady, progress, we

cannot, out of respect for the work of our settlers, make any radical change without being certain that it is for the better. At the twelfth Zionist Congress I already emphasised this point of view, subject, of course to minor improvements and modifications, until we either obtain satisfactory results from it, or until the intensive system has been proved by practical experience to possess such obvious advantages, and also to be so easily adaptable, that we can with safety discard the old system. "I myself am of the opinion," I said, "that an agricultural settlement on irrigated land has, in the *vicinity of a large town*, great chances of success. I also admit that we have not yet obtained *great* results from any other system. I therefore advocate that any new system which seems to offer reasonable prospects of better results, and which is supported by the opinion of agricultural experts, should, as soon as possible, be tested by an experiment on a large scale. But I should like everybody to remember that until such an experiment has been successfully carried out it should be regarded merely as an experiment which does not exclude the existence of parallel experiments at the same time."

I know nothing more to-day that can be added to these words.

Endeavours to establish a settlement near Tel Aviv after the Soskin plan did not materialise, as it was not found possible to buy a suitable, easily irrigated plot of land in the neighbourhood of Tel Aviv. Lately prospects have opened up that such land can be acquired, and in consequence a sum of £20,000 has been set aside in this year's budget of the Colonisation Department of the Zionist Executive.

CHAPTER XVII.

SETTLEMENT OF IMMIGRANTS WITH PRIVATE MEANS.

East European Jews who have only extremely scanty agricultural experience or none at all, but could on the other hand cover a great part of the expenses of settlement by their private means, constitute a separate problem of colonisation. Hitherto the Zionist Organisation has concerned itself almost exclusively with the settlement of young people entirely without private means. This was not because the Organisation did not desire the settlement of people with private means, but because no such prospective settlers were available. Till the end of the Turkish regime the agricultural settlements suffered to such a degree from the high-handed and arbitrary methods of the Turkish official, from the appalling lack of ways and means of communication, and from the ravages of the seemingly almost inevitable malaria, that well-to-do Jews were discouraged from settling in Palestine. The few who were bold enough actually to settle, soon either left agriculture, or, if they could afford it, turned to one of the old colonies, where they could become owners of plantations run by Arab labour.

During the years 1910—1914, the Palestine Office in Jaffa attempted, by organising so-called "Ahusot," to render settlement in Palestine more attractive to

wealthy Jews. These *Ahusot* were to comprise from 50 to 100 members, and to found plantations in Palestine for the members. The latter were to come to Palestine only when the plantations were already yielding good returns and would in this fashion avoid the many initial difficulties with which, in the ordinary course of events, settlers are confronted. Many reasons in addition to the fact that the war made it impossible to obtain any money from Russian members of the *Ahusot* caused the scheme to miscarry. Firstly, the construction of a plantation, if undertaken and supervised not by the prospective owner himself, but by a salaried administrator and by hired labour, proved to be considerably more expensive than was desirable and endangered the profitableness of the whole undertaking. Secondly, the members of the *Ahusah* did not arrive simultaneously, in which case they could have founded a settlement of at least fifty families. Instead of this, the first few arrivals suffered greatly from their isolation, and soon left the place, discouraging further attempts. In consequence, all the farms founded by *Ahusot* in Palestine have been reorganised for the settlement of *Halutzim*, or will be reorganised in the near future. The American Zion Commonwealth has settled a number of *Halutzim* in its territory in Balfouria which was purchased by the private means of wealthy individuals, and rightly adheres to the principle that the arrival of the latter must be preceded by the construction of a settlement of *Halutzim*.

The experiences with the *Ahusot* have shown that another system of rendering the settlement of individuals with private means feasible must be found. Conditions in Palestine are to-day in many ways better than they were before the war, as the British Administration has done away with the many irritating abuses of the Turkish period. On the other hand, the social and financial standard of life of the Russian and Polish Jews has deteriorated to such an extent that they will no longer consider it a "come down" and a sacrifice

to emigrate to Palestine. It is, of course, greatly in the interests of the Zionist Organisation to attract this class of people, who possess on the average £500, to Palestinian agriculture, as in their case the Organisation would not be obliged to provide the whole £1,000 or £1,100 necessary for the settlement of one family. On the other hand, the Organisation must take care to admit only those of whom ultimate success in agriculture can with reason be expected, as any failure, even if only affecting private individuals, will in the long run damage our prestige and reputation as colonisers.

This has its difficulties. Such candidates for settlement have for the most part been accustomed to the amenities of town life, have never performed any heavy physical work, and have enjoyed a comparatively easy life. Now, they are forced to enter into a small rural community, to live under conditions often very uncomfortable, and to perform difficult manual work in the open air. We cannot yet offer a complete solution of this problem, but can only intimate a few probable lines on which the solution may ultimately be achieved :

(1) As a rule settlers should not be over 35 to 40 years of age. People of a more advanced age should be permitted to settle only if accompanied by grown up children capable of performing manual work.

(2) People accustomed to manual labour should be preferred to merchants, clerks, etc.

(3) People from villages and small towns should be preferred to people from large towns.

(4) The selection of women is a question of great importance. While an efficient and unpretending housewife denotes ultimate success, one inefficient and pretentious denotes ultimate failure.

(5) If it be at all possible, the settler should work one year in Palestine as an agricultural labourer before venturing on any independent enterprise. If this is not possible, he should send a grown up son or daughter to Palestine to learn the work before he himself arrives.

It would be best if the sons, sent to Palestine in advance, prepare, under the direction of instructors, a piece of land for the settlement of the family.

(6) In order to avoid conflicts and dissensions, it is important that immigrants wishing to live in the same settlement should not all be total strangers to one another. It would be best if 50—100 families, previously acquainted with each other, settled together in a group, as this would make for harmony in the new settlement.

(7) Settlers should be leaseholders on the lands of the J.N.F. so as to be free to use their capital for the construction of the buildings and the purchase of agricultural equipment.

(8) If the settler himself does not possess the £700 necessary for the construction of the buildings, the purchase of tools, machinery and seeds, and the maintenance of life up to the first harvest, the Zionist Organisation should grant him a loan of about £200 in the form of a mortgage on his buildings. His private means ought therefore to amount to at least £500.

(9) Settlers already past their first youth and fathers of children are to be settled only in such places as are already sanitated, safeguarded from attack, and not too far distant from busy centres. Nor must the work entail excessive self-denial and strain—just the opposite to Halutzim settlement.

(10) Besides the usual mixed farming, projects may be entertained for the laying out of an orange-grove of fifteen to twenty dunam, with lucerne grass as a by-product, and with dairy and poultry farming. For this, a capital of about £1,400 (including the land and the buildings) would be necessary. Ten settlers at least would have to unite into a group and themselves (or their sons) lay down their plantations under the direction of an expert. If the settler possesses £1,000 of his own, the Keren Hayesod should lend him £400 in the form of a mortgage on land and buildings. A still better

idea would be to found an Agrarian Bank for these loans under the management and with the participation of the Keren Hayesod, and also of private capital. As oranges are the most profitable branch of farming in Palestine, this branch should constitute the surety which private capital requires for both capital and interest.

(11) The success or failure of the settlement will depend to a large extent on whether the settler can assimilate agricultural knowledge in a short space of time. Not only should the first settlers (or their sons) put themselves under expert guidance in the preparation of their farm, but for at least one year it is necessary that the settlers should continue to receive this guidance.

For this purpose an experienced Palestinian husbandman must either be domiciled in the settlement, or be appointed by the settlers as Instructor and remain with them. The Instructor on his side will have to get into communication on all important questions with the officials of the Agricultural Experimental Station. It would perhaps for psychological reasons be more practical if all these settlements of immigrants with means were on their own initiative to found an institution for the purpose of instructing them in agricultural matters. In Germany local provident societies have formed out of their own ranks an auditing society with powers of supervision over the business management of the provident societies, and it is at their disposal for advice on all important questions. If the settlements composed of immigrants with means were to form for themselves from this model an association to advise and instruct, the advantage for them would consist in their not having a supervisor from outside planted on them. They would be able to regard an association so formed as their own association, and its officials as their own officials. Many inconveniences, which can be traced to some attribute in an instructor sent by the outside body of authorities, would disappear on the formation

of an association to advise and instruct founded on the personal initiative of the settlers. The costs would not be very considerable, and they would be abundantly compensated by the better results achieved by the settler in his farm and by his no longer making his old mistakes. Nor is it out of the question that the Zionist Organisation would participate in the cost of such a praiseworthy association ; and the Agricultural Experimental Station would probably remain in permanent contact with it.

In spite of all these precautions, it is certain that not *all* of these settlers will be successful. For many people of a more advanced age it is radically impossible to adapt themselves to the difficult conditions of a new country such as Palestine. Yet we can count it as a success if the majority of these settlers will maintain themselves in agriculture. The others who are not equal to this task will sooner or later be forced to sell out to more efficient settlers.

The difference of treatment which the Zionist Organisation makes in the case of settlers with or without means respectively would therefore seem to consist in the fact that settlers possessing a minimum capital of £500 receive their land and grant of money immediately or after one year of preparatory work, while other settlers are as a rule only permitted and aided to settle after a period of five or more years of agricultural work, which sometimes, as in the case of occupation or drainage work, may even endanger the health and life of the settler. The Zionist Organisation is fully justified in making this difference, as failure in the case of a settler without private capital would injure the Organisation to a greater extent than the failure of a settler who had received a much smaller grant. Greater security, such as five or more years of hard preliminary agricultural labour can provide, is therefore required. The settler with private means, on the other hand, risks in the first place his own money. Thus the system of selection

need be less rigorous, as his own interest should give a sufficient guarantee against rashness or negligence.

In many cases enquiries fail to elicit how much is really possessed by groups living in Eastern Europe who wish to settle down in Palestine. Frequently the statements of these people as to their means are exaggerated or else vague. It may be they think in this way to improve their prospects of settlement. It can also be due to the fact that the settler seldom has his fortune in cash, but in wares, buildings, machines, outstanding claims, and there is seldom a chance of determining in advance what amount in cash the liquidation of his property will bring in. It is hardly ever possible for the Zionist Executive in Palestine to get a clear view of the prospective settler's means and to verify his statements. On the other hand, there must be a real guarantee of the settler actually possessing the above mentioned minimum of £500. Otherwise he would soon suffer shipwreck in Palestine, or lay a greater burden on the Keren Hayesod than this Fund is in a position to bear. As a means to this end it would not be a bad idea if, as soon as the Jewish National Fund promises the settlers the grant of land, the latter pay into the Jewish National Fund £250 for each family. As a year usually elapses before land thus acquired is ready for settlement, the settlers would have time in which to complete their liquidation and come to Palestine with the other £250. With this £250 they ought to start at once on the erection of a substantial dwelling-house and stall. As soon as these are ready the settlers should obtain a mortgage loan from the Keren Hayesod of £200. Besides this, the Jewish National Fund should refund to the settlers the previous £250 as soon as they need the money for acquiring stock and furniture.

It cannot be disputed that colonisation would be much easier if it were possible altogether to discard the settlement of immigrants without private means, and to require a minimum capital of £500 from each

candidate for settlement. At the outset of our colonisation, *e.g.*, at the time of the foundation of the farm Kineret, it was still hoped that the labourers employed in the farms would be able to earn more than their livelihood and generally accumulate a small capital that could serve as their own contribution to the expenses of settlement. This hope has proved a delusion. Only in the rarest cases have agricultural labourers been able to acquire any savings. The severe competition of the Arab usually forced wages to such a low level that they scarcely sufficed for a bare livelihood, and only an insignificant minority had brought any private means with them to Palestine. After the war, the economic collapse of Eastern Europe had as its consequence the fact that many Halutzim were unable to meet even their own travelling expenses, and that all arrived in Palestine totally destitute. The Zionist Organisation was accordingly faced with two alternatives: it would be obliged either to abandon the settlement of these elements, who were yet, by their enthusiasm and willingness to work, the best possible material for colonisation, or to consider their lack of means as a necessary evil and to try to make the best of it. There is no cause of regret that the second alternative was chosen. It is thanks to these new elements that a fresh spirit of joy in work and agriculture has been introduced into Palestine, and that a chain of promising agricultural settlements stretches right across the Emek Yezreel.

Yet it would be wrong to turn this necessity into a *principle* and to maintain that impecunious candidates for settlement must needs be the most suitable. It is very questionable whether the immigrants from Eastern Europe of the coming years will be able to maintain the same unusually high standard of character and enthusiasm as the Halutzim of the last few years, who are picked material. We must be prepared for the fact that in proportion to a quantitative increase

in immigration, the outstanding qualities of the immigrants will gradually disappear and the general character approach the average. It will then become a matter of importance to base the selection of candidates for settlement not merely on their character, but on the possibility of giving them a financial interest in their own success or failure. Under the present conditions a settler who has no private capital invested in his farm will, if he proves himself unequal to his task, perhaps be forced to leave it and will undergo a certain moral humiliation before his associates. He will, however, suffer no material loss. The whole burden of his failure must be borne by the Zionist Organisation. If, on the other hand, the settler himself participates with a minimum of ten per cent. in the costs of settlement, he himself would also be materially damaged by failure. This would undoubtedly lead to an improvement, as candidates for settlement would only put themselves forward if they had in their own estimation acquired sufficient knowledge and experience to undertake the task. Material prosperity would be generally increased, as the settler would proceed with greater economy and cautiousness lest he should damage his own interests.

The Palestinian labourers are as a whole somewhat sceptical on the subject of finding candidates for settlement possessing both personal qualifications and private capital. On the other hand, they have realised that their position and relations with the Colonisation Company would be greatly improved if they were able to participate to a certain extent in the defrayal of the expenses of their settlement. It has been suggested that if candidates possessing other qualifications could not raise the necessary amount individually, they might yet do so collectively by means of a workmen's association. The idea has not yet been fully developed. Its outlines are more or less as follows :—

All agricultural labourers shall, on coming to Palestine, become members of an Agricultural Labourers'

Settlement Association, to which association they shall pay a *monthly contribution* equal in amount to one day's wages. The Association will also try to obtain additional contributions from other Workmen's Organisations in Palestine or elsewhere. If the Association assents to the settlement of a candidate, it shall supplement the private capital of the settler (of which a certain minimum quantity is essential) to the amount necessary to defray ten per cent. of the costs of settlement, by granting him a loan on easy terms from the money thus collected.

If this idea is realised, the individual settler will only participate to a very small degree in the costs of settlement. But the loan will still be a loan from his own associates and comrades, thus increasing mutual responsibility. The ten or fifteen per cent. of participation would from the point of view of the colonising institute be extremely desirable, and the idea and its realisation should therefore be furthered by all possible means. It is not merely the ten or fifteen per cent. reduction of the expenditure of the colonising company which will make a difference, but also the increased security of the remaining 85 or 90 per cent. which will be achieved. Agricultural settlement would thus be put on a sounder business basis, and if, as is intended, the Keren Hayesod establishes a special Colonisation Fund to provide loans, this Fund will be all the more justified in asking in its turn for credits, on the strength of the loans it grants, if these loans are secured by at least a small capital of the settlers' own.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SUGGESTIONS OF PROF. ELWOOD MEAD.

We have repeatedly pointed out that as Jewish colonisation in Palestine is working with peculiar human material and for national aims, it cannot merely blindly imitate the examples of other countries. Yet neither, because we are breaking fresh ground, should the experience of other countries be altogether neglected. When therefore the Zionist Organisation had acquired large tracts of land in the Emek Yezreel and was able for the first time to contemplate colonisation on a large scale, it was thought desirable that several eminent authorities on agriculture and colonisation should inspect our settlements, and give us their views and advice. Considerations of this nature prompted me therefore to propose at the Twelfth Zionist Congress in 1921, that attempts should be made to obtain the advice of some first-class agricultural authority, if possible from a country where the natural conditions resemble those of Palestine, *e.g.*, California. This expert should visit all our agricultural settlements, and should advise us in detail from his observations in the country of the best ways and means of continuing and improving our work.

When, a year later, I found myself in California, I asked Prof. Elwood Mead, who is considered the greatest authority on agricultural colonisation in America,

whether he would be willing to come to Palestine to inspect our settlements. Prof. Mead accepted my invitation, but was prevented for several reasons from actually coming to Palestine at the time. In the autumn of 1923, however, he found time for a journey of inspection. He drew up a report dealing with his experiences in Palestine, which proved to be of the greatest value to us. On the whole, he was satisfied with the human material available and professed himself to be in agreement with the main lines of our colonisation. The following points, however, are in his opinion still in need of reform.

(1) Prof. Mead considers it a mistake that no written contracts have yet been made with the settlers stating clearly their financial obligations towards the colonisation company. On this point it may be noted that in 1922, a special Assessment Committee was set up to determine what was the value of the assets which had been transferred to the settlers, and what payments they should be called upon to make in return. Such an assessment is, of course, an indispensable preliminary to the conclusion of a contract. The Commission delivered its report in 1923. Since then negotiations have been going on between the Keren Hayesod and the settlers for deciding the form of the contract, but so far without result. This delay is greatly to be regretted, as the drawing-up of contracts is of the highest importance; on the one hand it inspires the settler with a feeling of security, on the other hand it gives him a sense of the obligations incumbent on him.

Various difficulties have prevented an agreement being reached on the general form which the contract is to take. Attempts to use colonisation agreements in other countries as a model have proved unsuccessful, owing to the great difference of conditions in Palestine. The following are some of the difficulties.

(a) Until the year 1920 there was no legal recognition of co-operative activity in Palestine. Only since

that year has the Kvutzah possessed the right to be registered as a co-operative society with definite legal status. Most of the Kvutzoth have not yet availed themselves of this right, but they will have to do so if they are to become parties to a contract. It is only quite recently that, after protracted negotiations, they have at length succeeded in agreeing upon articles of association.

(b) Most of the settlements have not yet received from the Keren Hayesod their full equipment. They insist that they cannot undertake, much less carry out, obligations of payment before the deficiencies have been supplied, because without this there is no chance of their farms becoming sufficiently productive.

(c) Our knowledge of the results of mixed farming is still too new and too fragmentary to afford us any basis for determining what rate of interest accords with the settlers' capacity to pay, at what point payment should commence, and in how many yearly instalments the debt should be wiped out. If we put our demands too high, there is a danger that the debt will never be honoured. The emphasis with which the settlers insist that their obligations must be proportioned to their capacity to pay, and their objection to any demand which they think is in excess of this, is therefore a good sign, better than if they were to undertake these commitments with a light heart.

(d) The settlers are usually anxious to protect the group against subversive or antinational tendencies which may be developed by individual members, and therefore would like to see embodied in the contract those principles which they hold dear (*e.g.*, that of personal labour). It is not easy to devise a form of contract which will readily permit of this.

(e) We must further remember that we are called upon to frame a uniform scheme of contract for about forty settlements. Even should all of these allow themselves to be represented in their dealings

with the Keren Hayesod by the Merkas Haklai, still this body has to take account of the special wishes of each settlement and, whenever new problems arise, to make sure that its attitude has the approval of the settlers.

This list could be extended, but enough has been said to show that the task of framing a basic contract of this kind which shall regulate the whole future of the settlements is attended in Palestine with exceptional difficulties which are not met in other countries. Nevertheless, these difficulties seem at last to have been overcome. After long negotiations between the Keren Hayesod and the settlers, a draft form of contract has been drawn up which, with perhaps some slight alterations, is likely to be generally adopted in the near future.

(2) Prof. Mead is of the opinion, that the settler should receive the land *after it has been completely ameliorated, i.e.,* after the ground has been drained, water supply established, roads constructed, etc. He even goes as far as to say that, wherever possible, the land should be transferred to the settler *after the first harvest*. He believes strictly in the principle of *full equipment, i.e.,* that the settler should be provided with the complete buildings, tools, and livestock before commencing the actual work. Prof. Mead believes that agriculture is in itself sufficiently difficult to render the settler's life a hard struggle for existence, and that if the original difficulties are during the first years aggravated by the lack of a complete agricultural equipment, the chances are that the settler will not be successful. Here also Prof. Mead is right. As regards his first argument, we have lately carried out to a large extent this principle of amelioration (*i.e.,* drainage, water supply, roadways) before settlement. Where this was not done, it was not through a lack of will, but through a lack of means. The same holds true for the principle of full equipment, with the one restriction that we build solid stables, but only wooden dwellings. This restriction is made, firstly, because

by this step we can save £100—£150, the capital invested in the dwellings being not productive but dead capital, and secondly, because wooden buildings are perhaps more suitable to the climatic conditions of Palestine. It can, on the other hand, be maintained with a fair amount of reason, that wooden buildings are more expensive to keep up and also that they tend to give the whole settlement an ugly and barrack-like appearance. It is quite possible that we may change to a more solid type of building in the near future. In the Emek, where we were obliged rapidly to occupy the land with means insufficient for colonisation, we were unfortunately often unable immediately to provide the settlers with their full equipment, but could only do so gradually in the course of three years. This undoubtedly put our settlers at a great disadvantage, since they could in such conditions only hope to reap small profit from their farms. This disadvantage is to a small extent modified by the fact that after three years use can be made of local experience in the employment of the money, which experience would have been lacking had the money been immediately spent. Yet the progress of our colonisation, especially in the Emek, has enabled us to make full use of the experiences of one settlement in the case of another, so that this argument is gradually losing its force. In future, however, we shall try to carry out the principle of full equipment without any restrictions.

(3) Prof. Mead believes in individualist colonisation modified by co-operation in special branches, such as we have it in the Moshve Ovdim, and opposes the guild-system of collective work, as found in the Kvutzoth. He supports this opinion by maintaining that the guild-system weakens the responsibility of the single members, that the individual has no incentive for special efforts, and that the equipment, not being private property, is not treated with sufficient care and economy. As we have already devoted a whole chapter

to the question of the Kvutzah, it is unnecessary to discuss it once more. It should be remembered, however, that we have no preference for either Kvutzoth or Moshve Ovdim, but that we give equal facilities to both systems. The Kvutzah-system being the natural result of the peculiar human material and the peculiar conditions of our early colonisation, finds more justification in Palestine than in any other country. We do not at present see sufficient reasons for discarding the system. The case would be different if the Moshve Ovdim had proved themselves greatly superior. This may well happen during the next few years, but at present we have no indication of the inferiority of the Kvutzah. It is worth pointing out that the system of colonisation successfully employed by the Australian Government for many years closely resembles, at least in the preparatory stages of settlement, that of the Kvutzah.

(4) Prof. Mead deems it necessary that each settlement should include a superintendent or farm adviser, who should aid the settlers by advice and example. This suggestion, too, is right in principle, as our settlers, lacking expert advice, may and often do commit grave technical blunders. The execution of this proposal, however, seems to present some difficulties. The main difficulty is to find the 'right men to fill the posts of superintendents or farm advisors. We require men who, to begin with, will be in sympathy with Jewish nationalist aims. Then they must be thoroughly acquainted with agriculture in Palestine, and they must further by the exercise of tact and patience know how to make themselves liked by the settlers, to whom they must stand in the relation of teachers, advisors and friends, not of superiors or spokesmen. Such men are not common. Still, we must do what we can with the material at our disposal, and therefore, in accordance with Mr. Mead's suggestion, a new "Extension Department" has been added to the Agricultural Experimental

Station to assist the settlers with instruction and demonstration. Hitherto, owing to lack of means and of suitable men, it has not been possible to appoint a farm advisor for every new settlement ; but certain districts have been provided with them. Apart from these farm advisors, agricultural specialists go round to the settlements to give instruction in their own branches, and to see that necessary improvements are carried out. These instructors also work under the direction of the Extension Department of the Agricultural Experimental Station. The Station has further begun to lay out experimental fields in centrally situated settlements in order to demonstrate to all settlers the importance of new technical methods.

With the recent great influx of settlers possessed of means, but devoid of all knowledge of agriculture, the problem of agricultural training has become particularly acute. Perhaps the suggestion put forward in the last chapter of founding an "Instruction Association" for the new settlements formed by immigrants with means points to the most helpful way of providing the new settlers with training and advice in the first period.

(5) Lastly, Prof. Mead demands that only people with private means should be considered for settlement. This question has already been fully treated in Chapter 17. It is hoped that gradually all new settlers will have some private means, even if these means be not sufficient to cover all the expenses of settlement.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE FUTURE SYSTEM OF ADMINISTRATION FOR AGRICULTURAL COLONISATION.

The organisation of Zionist Agricultural Colonisation was up to recently as follows :—

The Keren Hayesod handed over to the Zionist Executive in Palestine the money assigned to colonisation. This body contained an Agricultural Colonisation Department, with an agriculturist at its head, and for which a member of the Executive was responsible. It was the duty of this department to design schemes of work for new settlements, to determine the expenditure of the single settlements in accordance with the agricultural budget drawn up by the Congress, and constantly to supervise the progress of the settlements. In the execution of these duties the Agricultural Colonisation Department was supported by the Agricultural Advisory Board, the Vaad Haklout. The President of this Board was also the Director of the Agricultural Colonisation Department ; of the remaining six members, three were chosen by the Zionist Executive and three by the Vaad Leumi. The members of the Board met at one or two months' intervals, and took part in all the decisions of the Agricultural Colonisation Department dealing with the distribution of the available money and the construction and equipment of settlements. Theoretically the Board was merely advisory. In practice,

however, differences of opinion between the two bodies have never occurred.

There also existed in Palestine the *Merkas Haklai*, a committee chosen by the Palestinian Agricultural Labourers' Organisation. This committee, representing the opinion of the settlers, was constantly in touch with the Agricultural Colonisation Department, with which it collaborated very effectively in the selection of candidates for settlement, and the composition of suitable groups.

The *Agricultural Experimental Station*, founded by the Zionist Organisation in 1921, in Tel Aviv, has in addition to its scientific research, devoted itself to practical experimentation with new and improved agricultural methods. For this purpose it has maintained several sub-stations in various parts of the country, e.g., Benshemen, Merhavia, and Daganiah. It did not, however, concern itself with making the results of its research accessible to the settlers either by instruction or by demonstration. The Agricultural Colonisation Department, on the other hand, employed a certain number of agricultural experts as instructors. These instructors, travelling from settlement to settlement, were to aid the settlers by their advice.

This separation of the work of demonstration and instruction, known as "extension" in America, from the research work of the Experimental Station, caused the instructors to be out of touch with the progress of research. Thus the work of the Experimental Station was unproductive, as the results obtained from its research were not accessible to the settlers. The instructors were also placed at a disadvantage, as their agricultural knowledge and experience of earlier days could in all probability have been considerably improved or at least supplemented by the results obtained from the latest research and investigation of the Experimental Station.

It is, therefore, as Prof. Mead has suggested, and

as is the practice in California, necessary to remove the work of demonstration and instruction from the Agricultural Colonisation Department, and to transfer it to the Experimental Station. This was already done at the beginning of the budget-year 5685 (1924—1925). The station will employ instructors in special branches of agriculture in both the important districts of colonisation, the Emek and Judea. It will also employ local advisors, who can be consulted by the settlers on questions of *general agriculture*, which do not necessitate the consultation of special experts.

The Experimental Station is at present housed in hired rooms in Tel Aviv. As there is no ground attached to these, it can undertake only laboratory work at its headquarters, and has to utilise its substations for practical plantation and cultivation experiments. This separation of the scientific staff from the *locale* of the experiments is a great drawback. It will be necessary to remove the Experimental Station from Tel Aviv to a place where it will have at its disposal sufficient ground for experiments, and to erect for it there the requisite buildings.

A further alteration which is urgently required concerns the Colonisation Department of the Zionist Organisation. Agricultural colonisation is so vast an undertaking, absorbing so much money and demanding such specialised knowledge, that it cannot obtain the attention it requires within the confines of the Zionist Executive, which is occupied with so many and such diverse affairs. It seems, therefore, advisable to remove agricultural colonisation from the sphere of the Zionist Executive's labours and to give it its own administration, of course, under the general control of the Executive.

The Zionist Congress of 1923 decided at my suggestion to institute a special Colonisation Fund, which is to be the future instrument of colonisation. The following reasons have lent additional weight to the general argument already given for such a fund :—

(1) Unless we shall in the near future succeed in rendering at least part of our settlements independent to such an extent that they will not only be entirely self-supporting, but will also be able to repay within 30 or 40 years the loans granted to them by the Zionist Organisation, the success of the whole undertaking seems problematical. As the settlements founded before the war suffered badly during the struggle, and those founded after the war are at the most three or four years old, we have not yet received any such repayments. During such a short period the settlers were obviously unable to make any payments: such years of grace are granted to settlers everywhere in the world. Soon, however, we will be forced to demand the first payments from the settlers. As during the next few years agriculture in the settlements will not be very profitable, this will not be easy; it will be even more difficult for a creditor who is not a private person, such as the Zionist Executive. A large part of the means of the Executive is spent for purposes such as education, hostels, medical aid, etc., where no repayment can be made or is expected. This tends to give the Jewish population the idea that the Zionist Executive has unlimited sums at its disposal, and can treat the Palestinian Jews in a purely philanthropic manner. This idea, if it spreads among the settlers whom the Executive has aided, would cause great difficulties. If, on the other hand, the capital for settlement were provided no longer by the Executive, but by a special Colonisation Fund, the settlers would realise that the money they had received was not a gift but a loan, which should, if at all possible, be strictly and punctually repaid. Prof. Mead rightly pointed out the disadvantages caused by the absence of legal contracts between the settlers and the colonisation companies. Yet such contracts would in all probability already have been drawn up, had it been not the Zionist Executive, but a special Colonisation Fund, which had granted the loans to the settlers.

(2) A second strong reason for such a Colonisation Fund is that it would enable us to obtain the capital for agricultural colonisation not only by means of the voluntary contributions constituting the Keren Hayesod, but also by the usual way of credit. The total assessed value of the Zionist settlements, founded entirely or partly from the means of the Keren Hayesod, amounts to-day to £500,000. If the Keren Hayesod institutes a special Colonisation Fund, to which the property of the agricultural settlements will be transferred, that Fund will from the outset enjoy the advantage of large assets. In virtue of the contracts the Fund will receive small but continually growing payments from the settlers, and will in this way be able to raise a loan guaranteed out of its own income. The chances of obtaining credit will naturally rise in proportion to the income derived from the settlements. Similarly, if Palestinian agriculture will progress sufficiently to enable the settlers to redeem their debts, we will be able to discard the present system of voluntary contributions to the Keren Hayesod and will satisfy our money requirements more and more by ordinary business methods. This end is all the more desirable, as we do not know how much longer the Keren Hayesod will be able to meet the enormous expenses of colonisation. The experiences of recent years have already shown that the Keren Hayesod cannot raise money at a rate sufficient to keep pace with the growing expenses. The founding of a Colonisation Fund would therefore be the first step to enable us to obtain credit for agricultural colonisation.

The Colonisation Fund should be founded as a subordinate branch of the Keren Hayesod, and registered in Palestine as a limited company. A council of directors of three to seven members, including a managing director, should be appointed by the Zionist Executive. The main duties of the Fund would be the following :

(1) The distribution of land to the settlers (in

agreement with the Keren Kayemet in the case of land owned by that fund).

(2) Amelioration of the land (in addition to the work performed in that direction by the Keren Kayemet).

(3) The drawing up of general schemes of work for the settlements.

(4) The granting of loans to settlers or to groups of settlers.

(5) The drawing up of contracts with the settlers.

(6) Supervision of the settlers' efforts to carry out their duties and obligations.

The managing director will be aided by an agricultural and by a legal adviser. Before the foundation of any new settlement, the Colonisation Fund must consult the Experimental Station on all agricultural questions and problems connected with the new settlements. Thus we can be sure that every problem will receive expert consideration. In the Appendix I have added suggestions on the "Principles for the Granting of Loans by the Zionist Colonisation Fund," also a schedule of the report which the managing director should send to the Experimental Station before the foundation of a new settlement.

The Vaad Haklout will continue to exist as an advisory council to the directors of the Colonisation Fund. It will be composed mainly of actual settlers, thus providing a guarantee that the directors will be in touch with the work in the settlements.

There is no doubt that agriculture in Palestine has greatly advanced during recent years. Agricultural, economic and social systems, suitable to both the peculiarities of Palestine and the peculiarities of the settlers, have been developed. Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that the above-outlined addition to the Organisation will constitute a distinct improvement, and will contribute to the better success of our work.

CHAPTER XX.

AGRICULTURE AND OTHER OCCUPATIONS.

The difficulties of agricultural colonisation, added to the fact that it is impossible *rapidly* to provide thousands of immigrants with work *merely* by means of agriculture, have caused Zionists to ask again and again whether it is really essential for Jewish immigration to be directed into Palestine only by that one rough and narrow channel. Certainly, it would not be right to give agriculture the preference merely from a sentimental love of the soil of Palestine. To quicken the pace of colonisation, it is important not to neglect any possibility of creating new means of livelihood for Jewish immigrants.

We must, however, beware of imagining that it will be possible to reproduce in Palestine the same distribution of occupations as is found among the Jews in East Europe. This is a widespread error, due to the notion that the "smartness" of the Jews will enable them to "find their feet" somehow in Palestine. We can, it is true, rely upon the economic "smartness" of the Jews to enable them to ferret out every possible opening in trade and industry. The trouble is that these openings are far more limited in Palestine than in the Galuth countries. In these the Jews have been able to find full scope for their smartness, because they form a small minority in the general population, and

owing to their greater business ability are much in demand as traders and agents. In Palestine, on the other hand, we cannot be content to remain permanently a minority, and therefore we must distribute our occupations differently from the Jews in Europe.

Even in highly developed European countries only 10—15 per cent. of the population live from commerce ; in Palestine 10 per cent. is the maximum possible. But we have to remember in this connection that population for us means Jewish population only. Trade with the non-Jewish population—the requirements of which in any case are very simple, simpler even than those of the peasants of East Europe—is completely in the hands of the exceedingly capable Arabic traders, who have an advantage over the Jews in their knowledge of the country and the language, so that the latter practically have no look in in this field. Jewish business men already form more than ten per cent. of the Jewish population, with the result that competition among them, especially in petty trade, has become excessive. Most of the Jewish petty traders are able to maintain themselves only by giving their customers credit, for which they have to raise prices ; and this in turn has led to a sensible rise in the cost of living.

The lack of non-Jewish custom, which prevents any great expansion in the Jewish trading community, also prevents the number of Jewish artisans from increasing. Among the Fellaheen, who form two-thirds of the non-Jewish population, there is only a slight demand for the products of handicraft, and this is supplied by Arabic workmen. Only in the towns do Jewish tailors, glaziers, joiners, tinkers and goldsmiths occasionally find non-Jewish customers ; but 90 per cent. of their customers also are Jewish. With the exception, therefore, of the building operatives, who, owing to the great building activity are fully occupied and well paid, the artisans are not in a good position. A further addition to the ranks of the trades most common among the

Jews, *e.g.*, tailors, bootmakers and tinkers, would cause widespread ruin.

The professions are already overcrowded. Thus, on November 1st, 1924, there were no fewer than 277 Jewish medical men in Palestine; and as in addition there are the Christian Mission Hospitals, in which medical attention is provided gratis, and about 170 non-Jewish doctors, these have to rely almost exclusively on Jewish patients. Thus there is already one Jewish doctor for every 400 inhabitants, whereas in Europe the proportion is one doctor to several thousand. Consequently most Jewish doctors are very badly off; and the case is the same with lawyers, engineers, authors, etc. Only those professional men holding fixed appointments under the Government or in private institutions, as also the teachers, are comparatively well off; but the number of such positions is of course limited. It would be even smaller but for the fact that some of these functionaries and several ministers of religion derive their salaries from money sent to Palestine from abroad for educational, religious or philanthropic purposes.

For the tourist industry there are excellent prospects in Palestine, perhaps as good as in Egypt. Apart from its holy places and the veneration in which it is held by Jews, Christians and Mohammedans, its mild winter climate, its medicinal springs, notably the warm baths of Tiberias, and the peculiar charm of its scenery, especially of the Jordan Valley and the Dead Sea, are powerful attractions. With the spread of the Zionist idea, Palestine will become in increasing measure a land of pilgrimage for the Jews and an educational centre for the Jewish young. But here also we must beware of exaggerated hopes, or of supposing that a great part of the Jews of Palestine can live from the tourist industry. Even in Switzerland, the land of tourist and boarding schools par excellence, scarcely ten per cent. of the population derive their livelihood from these sources, and in Palestine this will long

be the maximum which can possibly be hoped for.

In addition to tourists, retired people and rentiers drawing a regular income from abroad can play an important part in the economic development of the country both by swelling the numbers of the Jewish population and by circulating money among the Jews in the country. Hitherto the number of such residents has been small; but as the country becomes more settled, perhaps more Jews with assured incomes will be induced to go and reside there.

There still remains to be considered, as an alternative to agriculture, manufacturing industry both on a large and on a small scale. What are the possibilities in this line? A number of industrial enterprises which were started by Jews in Palestine before the war, *e.g.*, the glass factory in Tantura, the "Athid" soap factories in Ludd and Haifa, and the silk spinning mill in Rosh Pinah came to grief in spite of adequate financial backing. The wine cellars in Rishon-le-Zion were the one industrial undertaking of any magnitude which existed at the outbreak of the war. It must be admitted that the prospects for manufacturing industry have greatly improved under the British Administration as compared with the state of things under the Turkish regime. But even to-day little assistance is given to any industry to maintain itself in Palestine against the competition of other countries.

The three most important conditions for the success of any industry are proximity to raw materials (*e.g.*, coal, iron, wood, agricultural products), a supply of cheap labour, and the neighbourhood of markets.

Palestine is not particularly rich in raw materials. It has neither coal, nor iron, nor other metals worth exploiting. The only native substances which are utilised are stone, clay and sand for building, limestone for producing lime, and sea water for providing salt. The great Neshor cement factory in Haifa has lime and marl on the spot. The obtaining of salt from the Dead

Sea will perhaps one day become an important industry. Perhaps too petroleum will be found. The afforestation which has been commenced in the last few years will, it is hoped, one day provide the country with wood, which now has to be imported. But all this belongs to the future. The Palestine of to-day is a country poor in wood and minerals. As raw materials for manufactures it is only the vegetable and animal products of the country that have any importance as yet. The beginnings of an industrial utilisation of these products are already present in the shape of a milling industry, an oil industry, a soap industry, cigarette manufacture and tanneries. Other similar industries, such as distilleries, breweries, preserving factories, and sugar production from sugar cane or beets, should soon be started. But progress is bound to be slow, as an abundant supply of cheap agricultural products and a large consuming public are essential factors to success, and these at present are wanting.

In the matter of cheap labour, conditions are very unfavourable, as the wages of Jewish workers in Palestine are higher, and for a long time ahead are likely to remain higher than those of non-Jewish workers in Palestine itself and in the whole of the Near East.

Among the industries which offer good prospects owing to the neighbourhood of the market, even if they have to import their raw material wholly or in part, may be mentioned the manufacture of building materials (*e.g.*, cement and tiles), and of textiles. Palestine imports textiles of all kinds to an annual value of about £800,000. Jewish textile manufacturers and textile operatives from East Europe have already begun to transplant this industry to Palestine. A silk weaving factory and several cotton weaving factories are already at work. In the same way several other Jewish small manufacturers from Poland have brought their business knowledge (and in many cases also their machinery) to Palestine, and utilise it for working up imported raw

materials or manufactured parts into finished articles of a kind which hitherto were imported from Europe (*e.g.*, boots, cooking and lighting utensils, looking glasses, iron bedsteads, etc.). Practically all these manufacturers produce for Palestine only ; they cannot meet foreign competition abroad.

Up to September 1924 a uniform *ad valorem* duty of eleven per cent. was levied on almost all imported goods ; but since then a new tariff has been in force which, in theory at least, imposes a specific duty per unit or per kilogramme on each class of goods. This tariff offers a better protection to industry than the old one because on the whole it imposes a lower duty on raw materials which are not found in Palestine and higher duties on manufactured articles which can be produced in Palestine. This idea has been carried out only in a halting and hesitating way owing mainly to the fact that the Government does not wish to provoke an outcry among the consumers, who constitute ninety per cent. of the population, that they are being taxed in favour of the manufacturers, who form only ten per cent. This consideration will always stand in the way of a thoroughgoing protectionist policy. Still, a higher duty may yet conceivably be imposed on certain articles which are not used by the mass of the population (*e.g.*, spirits, beer, luxury articles). On the other hand, those industries which produce for the general home market must expect only a moderate degree of protection, and can therefore hope to survive only if their costs of production are not materially higher than abroad.

There is a class of goods which derive at least part of their value from the fact that they are produced in Palestine, the land with such peculiar associations for Jews and for many religious Christians. The industries which produce such goods will occupy a particularly favoured position. Hebrew books and calendars, tombstones, Jewish and Christian religious articles, souvenirs, etc., if originating in Palestine, will be preferred

to the same articles produced in other countries, and will command fancy prices. The more Palestine is visited by tourists the greater will be the demand for such articles.

If the foregoing analysis has shown that there are certain industries with good prospects, which we have no desire to underrate, it is none the less clear that these alone will not suffice to provide a livelihood for all the Jews in the country who are not absorbed by trade, manual labour or the professions. The gap can be filled by agriculture alone. If this industry is systematised on the basis of producing first and foremost for the wants of the settler himself, then it is almost independent alike of the external and the internal market, and so can become a source of livelihood for an unlimited number of Jews. The agriculturalists in turn create openings for other Jews in non-agricultural pursuits. The trader buys the surplus produced by the agriculturist over his own needs and sells him manufactured goods. Workmen supply his requirements in the way of building, clothing, implements and repairs. Manufacturers specialise on the production of agricultural machines and other similar requirements of the agriculturist. The transport of his goods sets traffic moving. Agricultural side-industries follow in the wake of increased agricultural production. Teachers, doctors, and technicians are required in the settlements. The way in which agricultural production stimulates other occupations is shown by the fact that in May, 1925, there were in the agricultural settlements in addition to 15,000 working on the land, 8,000 who were not engaged in agriculture itself, but who gained their living from the agriculturists, not to mention the fact that in the towns also a considerable number of Jews live by trade and traffic with the colonies.

It will be seen from the picture we have here drawn that Palestine occupies among the countries which attract Jewish immigration a peculiar position. For two

thousand years the channels of Jewish migration were determined by considerations of trade. The Jewish merchant was always the pioneer who opened up new countries to the Jews of other callings. A typical example of this process is afforded by the Jewish immigration into North America in the last century. Both the first immigration of Sephardic Jews in the first half of the nineteenth century, and the succeeding immigration of Ashkenazic Jews were composed almost exclusively of merchants who found ample scope in this country as agents among the non-Jewish consumers. Once these first ten thousand had paved the way, they were followed from 1880 onwards by hundreds of thousands of others, who included not only merchants, but also artisans and small manufacturers and factory workers. The workers easily found employment, because they brought from East Europe a low standard of living and therefore were content, at least at first, with lower wages than those usual in America. The immigrants into Palestine, on the other hand, can count on finding neither great openings for trade with non-Jewish producers and consumers, nor industrial employment through the acceptance of lower wages, since the normal wage in Palestine is lower even than in East Europe. This fundamental difference between the conditions in Palestine and in the other immigration countries cannot be too strongly emphasised. Most of the schemes put forward for the economic improvement of Palestine are worthless because they disregard or underestimate this fundamental difference. It is the consideration of this which forces on us the conviction that the majority of the Jews in Palestine must be neither traders nor agents nor professional men, but producers in manufactures and agriculture, and that agriculture must pave the way for manufacturers.

Agriculture is indispensable for another reason also. All other occupations gravitate to the centres of intercourse, *i.e.*, the towns. Were there no

agriculturists among the Jews, we should have the same phenomenon in Palestine as in the Galuth countries, of the Jew as a town-dweller only. Palestine might then be dotted with Jewish islets in the towns, but in its broad expanse it would be non-Jewish. Apart from the fact that confinement to the towns would deprive the Jews of that close contact with nature which to other nations is so valuable a source of moral strength, the attempt to create a Jewish National Home on these lines would be no better than a farce. It is not sufficient, as many Zionists believe, that the Jews should be a numerical majority in the country; it is equally important that they should be distributed through the length and breadth of the land. This can be brought about only by agriculture. Should the Jews monopolise the trade and industry in the towns and leave agriculture to the Arabs, then, to judge from the experience of Europe, the divergence of economic interests would permanently estrange the two peoples which so urgently require each other's friendship.

After all that has been said, there is no room for doubting that a considerable percentage of the Jews in Palestine must live from agriculture, if the Jewish economic position in the country is not to be at the mercy of every adverse gust. How large must this percentage be? In our view, not less than a third. Given this proportion, another third might work as artisans or in factories, while the rest could find occupation in commerce, communications (tourist traffic) or the professions. This is, of course, an ambitious scheme from which for a time we shall have to deviate considerably. But we should at least make it our ideal, and continually recur to it for guidance. We must not allow ourselves to be deceived by the fact that at the present moment (Spring, 1925), the position of the Jews in Palestine is fairly good, although fifteen per cent. of them at most live from agriculture and not more than twenty per cent. from factory and other labour (not

including building). The present favourable position is due to the fact that from Easter 1924 to 1925 about 20,000 Jews entered the country, bringing with them considerable sums of money. This capital they partly use for their own current expenses, thereby enriching the labourers and traders who supply their needs, partly they invest it in building schemes and so provide employment for skilled workmen. But people cannot go on long eating up capital, and houses are only a source of income when they are let to tenants who pay rent. We are moving in a vicious circle so long as we have not a sufficient number of Jews actually producing wealth in agriculture and industry, and so continually infusing new blood (*i.e.*, money) into the Jewish economic system. This is the point to which we always come back.

CHAPTER XXI.

PRIVATE INITIATIVE.

No one to-day disputes that our agricultural colonisation in Palestine would have been impossible, had not Baron de Rothschild and, later, the Zionist Organisation by liberal grants of money enabled immigrants without means to settle on the land. We should never have had a "Yishub" if we had had to wait for private persons to settle with their own capital. It is pointed out, however, that the position has changed within the last year or two, and that applicants for settlement can now be found who possess at least a part of the sum required ; and it is urged that this is the element to which encouragement should henceforth be given. We have already discussed this question in Chapter XVII. There are, however, two additional objections which are frequently raised, and with which we should like to deal here, viz. :—

(1) That the Zionist Organisation would have been able to put many more Jews than it has done in the way of earning a living if, instead of spending money on agricultural colonisation, it had devoted the sums so used to the encouragement of private enterprise in trade and industry.

(2) That the Zionist Organisation has an anti-capitalistic bias, and therefore deliberately discourages private enterprise.

We consider these reproaches unjustified. To begin with, there is no truth in the oft-repeated assertion that industry can provide a living for the same number of persons as agriculture with a much smaller capital outlay. This can be tested from the handful of large Jewish concerns which already exist in the country or are in process of formation. Thus, the Silicate Brick Factory with £90,000 capital employs about seventy workmen and officials, the Shemen Oil Factory with £120,000 capital about forty workmen and officials, and the Athlit Salt Works with £50,000 capital about thirty workmen and officials, while the Nesher Cement Factory with £200,000 capital employs or will employ about two hundred workmen and officials. In most of these cases the capital per official or workman is more than the £1,100 which is the cost of settling an agriculturist.

The conditions are rather more favourable in the case of petty manufacturers, in which the capital investment per each worker employed is often only some hundreds of pounds, or even less. Hence petty manufacture, so far as it can find a market for its output, deserves every encouragement. Small manufacturers who know their business, and have capital of their own, can and ought to be assisted by the Zionist Organisation to procure credit. Until recently, persons with these qualifications were not numerous in Palestine. During the inflation period manufacturers of this class in East Europe enjoyed a delusive prosperity which both made them loth to leave the land of their sojourning and rendered it difficult for them to remove to Palestine. A manufacturer who in Poland passed as "rich" and led a comfortable life would with the same amount of money have been in Palestine little more than a beggar. Only since the stabilisation of the currencies in Central and Eastern Europe has brought prices more on to a level, *i.e.*, since about 1924, have manufacturers with means of their own begun to come to Palestine, especially

from Poland. This has given an opportunity to the Zionist Organisation and the Keren Hayesod to step in. Previously this was not possible, as it was of course out of the question for the Zionist Organisation itself to attempt to found industries. Industrial enterprise is not on all fours with agricultural colonisation. The latter can, broadly speaking, be carried out on a uniform plan for all settlements. But every industrial enterprise is a world for itself, and demands special knowledge and attention. Consequently, while agricultural colonisation admits of being directed from a central office, the attempt to do the same with industry would spell ruin. What the Zionist Organisation must do is to wait till private manufacturers approach it with definite proposals, and it must restrict its participation to securing them credit within reasonable limits for assisting the execution of their plans. As the Jews who immigrate from Eastern Europe scarcely ever have sufficient capital of their own to set their small industry going, and as it is impossible for them to obtain long-term credit from the banks of Palestine, it is the duty of the Zionist Office to come to their assistance. The Organisation has, it is true, during each of the last few years laid out on an average £5,000—£6,000 from the resources of the Keren Hayesod on credits for these small industrialists. But owing to the great influx of this class in 1924, this sum is now quite inadequate. The best way to meet the demand for credit would be to found a special industrial bank, with a capital of at least £100,000, which should submit industrial schemes and projects to expert examination, and support those which were judged promising by granting credit or actually participating. Capital for this bank could best be raised by the Keren Hayesod and private subscribers in conjunction, the Keren Hayesod taking £25,000 ordinary shares, and private subscribers or companies £75,000 preference shares.

It has been further objected that the Zionist Organisation have permitted their anti-capitalist views

to influence their work. This objection proceeds from Zionists who still do not understand that many occupations pursued by Jews in other countries have no place in Palestine. Outside Palestine the Jewish community benefits by the commercial gains of individual Jews, because they are obtained from trade with non-Jews. Conditions in Palestine are totally different. Trade with non-Jews is, except in special cases, small and limited ; as a whole, the Jews form a more or less self-contained economic entity ; thus the gain by trade of an individual of the entity would usually not be a gain for the whole body ; it would merely be a shifting of wealth inside the community, representing individual profit. Individual profit, however, is only desirable from the Zionist point of view, if it is also a *collective profit* of the *whole* Jewish community. It follows from these facts that many kinds of activities of the Eastern Jews will, if transplanted to Palestine, have no ultimate national value. If yet another hundred little shops or miniature cafes are opened by Jews in Palestine, the only result would be that two families would now be forced to live or starve on an income which formerly barely sufficed for one, or that the consumer will have to pay higher prices in order to support yet another middleman.

Similarly useless are occupations such as speculation in land, which many Jews unfortunately seem to think a fair and promising means of existence. Their sole achievement is a raising of the price of land at the cost of immigrants and prospective settlers, whom they are therefore injuring ; the Jewish community as a whole does not profit a single penny by all these transactions ; more than that, it even loses, as productive capital, which would have been used for agricultural and industrial colonisation, *e.g.*, the building of houses, farms, factories, etc., becomes, in flowing into the pockets of speculators, dead capital of no value to Jewish colonisation. The Jewish speculator in Palestinian land is therefore an injurious parasite in the community.

All that has been said about capital and profit by trading holds good in the case of capital invested in industry, in so far as it does *not increase the national production*. A Jewish industrial employer not employing Jewish labour does not aid our work in the slightest ; if, however, he employs Jewish labour, he provides a basis of existence for as many Jews as he employs, and is of the greatest use to our cause.

Any clear-thinking person will realise the position which the Zionist Organisation must accordingly take up towards capital and trade. A clearer difference than has hitherto been conceived must be made between *productive* and *unproductive* capital, and between *useful* and *useless* occupations. The examples of speculation in land, of parasitic middlemen, and of excessive usury must not be considered as arguments against capital in general. Capital in itself can be neither useful nor harmful. It is only the manner in which it is employed that makes the difference. For Zionist work in Palestine, capital is indispensable. Immigrants must live, and consequently need land, houses, machinery, and other equipment ; they therefore need capital with which to acquire all these means of existence or production. The Zionist Organisation has attempted to obtain this capital by means of contributions of individual Jews, and is employing it as *national capital* for the purposes of immigration and colonisation. It is, however, obvious that by these means capital cannot be raised in the quantity required to help large masses of Jews to obtain a living. Thus, if we are to limit ourselves to this national capital, the development of Palestine must necessarily be very slow. In the case of large industrial undertakings the substitution of national for private capital would almost certainly result in diminished efficiency and production. Thus private capital must be attracted to Palestine in order to increase immigration and accelerate the industrial development of the country. It need hardly be mentioned that so

long as capital obtains interest everywhere else in the world, it must also do so in Palestine. We cannot therefore expect people to invest capital in industrial enterprise unless they have some prospect of a reasonable profit.

It is equally necessary that they should be assured that proper protection will be given to their property, and that they will be free to conduct their business in a regular manner ; and they must further be made to feel that they will be welcome additions to the productive population of Palestine.

Relations between Jewish employers and workmen have hitherto been as a whole the reverse of friendly, and conflicts have frequently arisen between them. Most of these have their root in the fact that the Jewish workers for the most part have only become labourers in Palestine, and are still finding their feet, so to speak, in their new sphere ; their attitude to the employer is still wavering, and they have not made up their minds what to expect of him. They often fail to take into account the difficult position in which every industrial employer in Palestine finds himself. The employer on his side often fails to understand the peculiar mentality of these workers who feel themselves to be his collaborators in the work of national upbuilding, and will tolerate no "bossing." Friction between the two sides is aggravated by the fact that Palestine has as yet no legislation regulating the relations between employers and workmen. Attempts have long been made to fix these relations by direct negotiations between employers and employed. These have recently been resumed on the instigation of the Zionist Executive and the Vaad Leumi, and should they lead to a definite result, the field of dispute will be narrowed, and many conflicts will be avoided.

All this does not hold true in the case of capitalists employing their capital not for the purpose of increasing the national production, but for their personal enrichment

at the expense of the rest of the Jewish community. Speculation in land and prices, usury, the exploitation of cheap labour of women and children, wage-cutting below a living wage—all come into this category. These occupations, which enjoy an evil reputation all over the world, are especially harmful in Palestine, since there they hit an economic system which is as yet imperfect.

The Zionist Organisation has always welcomed capitalists who are willing to invest their money productively in Palestine, and has aided them to the best of its ability. To this policy it must and will continue to adhere. But in our opinion the indispensable requisite for attracting capital and for developing industry in Palestine is precisely that which in the eyes of many spells anti-industrialism, namely the advancement of agricultural colonisation. *Agriculture only can prepare the way for industry in Palestine* ; it will create customers in the country itself, and this, at the outset, is what every industry urgently requires.

CHAPTER XXII.

RETROSPECT AND FORECAST.

APPENDIX.

The following achievements in the sphere of agricultural colonisation stand to the credit of Zionist Organisation :—

(1) Systematic sanitation of the colonies before settlement.

(2) Water supply in every home.

(3) The construction of roadways connecting the settlements to the nearest highroad.

(4) Systematic construction of settlements, with due regard for the surroundings.

(5) Afforestation in the neighbourhood of settlements.

(6) Encouragement of large settlements of 60—100 families.

(7) The introduction of superior breeds of cattle from Beirut, Damascus and Holland.

(8) The introduction of superior breeds of poultry from Europe and America.

(9) The introduction of bee-keeping.

(10) The introduction of new fruit trees and vines from France ; increased afforestation.

(11) The introduction of lucerne, Sudan-grass, and other green forage.

(12) The construction of an Agricultural Experimental Station with extension departments in the more important districts of settlement.

(13) The employment of agricultural instructors and specialists for the benefit of the settlers.

(14) Auditing of the accounts of the settlements by travelling book-keepers.

(15) Agricultural instruction for girls.

The most important success, however, is the great change that has been brought about in the attitude of the settler towards his work. The loose ties connecting the old colonists to their work and the disdain of manual labour, which they left to paid native labourers, have been exchanged for an enthusiastic passion for agricultural work. The lack of agricultural tradition and experience has, to a certain extent, been removed ; we have now amongst us a large percentage of farmers of whom every country could justly be proud. Fifteen years ago you could count by the dozen the capable farmers really attached to agriculture ; to-day you can count them by thousands.

But in spite of this enormous progress we must not become too self-satisfied ; we must not deem ourselves already closely approaching our goal and ideal. Years, even decades, may pass, before we shall be able to say that we have accomplished the object which we set out to achieve. At present, agriculture is in a difficult position everywhere in the world, and Jewish colonisation in Palestine will in the competition with other countries be continually confronted by new problems. The settlers of to-day have a tendency to neglect national principles for the sake of their own well-being. A clashing between individual and national interests is inevitable, and it is our duty to see that the latter are not neglected. We are as yet not sufficiently advanced to be free from anxiety over the fate of our enterprise. But in spite of all shortcomings and dangers, we are fully justified in saying that we are to-day much further

than we were fifteen years ago, and that in a few years' time several of our settlements will furnish us with objective proof of the success, both material and spiritual, of our work. And let it always be remembered that ultimate success justifies failures that have made it possible.

If, however, we have good reason to be satisfied with the improvement in the quality of our agricultural colonisation, we cannot be so sanguine about its prospects of expansion. If we want 30,000 immigrants or 6,000 families to enter Palestine annually during the next few years, and of these a third part, or 2,000 families to become agriculturists, then we require very much more money than we are getting at present. Hitherto, with the means at our disposal, we have been able to settle barely 10—15 per cent. of the immigrants on the land, and this at a time when the whole number of Jewish immigrants has amounted to only 10,000 a year. We want to settle five or six times as many, and how are we to do it? Even if we take a fairly optimistic view, and assume that the influx of immigrants with means from East Europe will continue to increase and will enable us to settle 1,000 families yearly at an outlay per family (from national resources) of £600 (including the land), this would mean for the Jewish National Fund and the Keren Hayesod an expenditure of £600,000. We should have to settle in addition 1,000 Halutzim, who would require at least £1,000 per family from the national chest, making a total expenditure of £1,000,000. Thus the settling of 2,000 families of colonists would cost annually £1,600,000, whereas the Keren Hayesod and Jewish National Fund can at present only put up £300,000 to £400,000 for this purpose. Here is the real problem. All the other difficulties connected with the agricultural settlement of the Jews in Palestine—and they are not few—we might hope to master; but lack of means effectively bars the way to any great expansion. Only if the Jewish National Fund and the

Keren Hayesod can between them devote the sum mentioned above to the purchase and improvement of the soil and to granting credits to settlers, shall we be able to carry out agricultural colonisation on a scale which can serve as a basis for an annual immigration of 30,000 Jews.

A few words in conclusion on the criticisms which have been levelled at our agricultural colonisation.

Criticisms of our work are necessary, desirable and important. Only if our shortcomings and defects are emphasised again and again, will we be able speedily to remedy them. If, nevertheless, we have to complain of unjust criticism, it is because not one of our critics has grasped the problem in its entirety. An agricultural coloniser, coming from another country, compares conditions of colonisation in Palestine with those of colonisation in another country, and often overlooks the difference to which I have drawn repeated attention, namely, that our settlers arrive in Palestine from East European towns and cities without any agricultural experience and tradition, as opposed to other settlers, who are usually merely transferred from one agricultural environment to another. Bankers and merchants may judge Palestinian colonisation by its profitableness or unprofitableness, but they overlook the fact that, in addition to rendering colonisation profitable, we are attempting to find a means of existence for the greatest possible number of Jews. This end would not be achieved, were we to follow the example of the South American colonies, where Jewish plantations are run by non-Jewish labour. The bourgeois, who may criticise the socialistic or communistic tendencies of the new settlements, forgets the fact, that by far the greatest number of those who are ready to be pioneers in the work of settlement were originally East European proletarians, who cannot adopt a bourgeois psychology. You cannot eat the cake and have it. If we desire our settlers to set national aims and interests above their

private aims and interests, we desire them to be idealists. We cannot at the same time demand of these idealists that they should let themselves be guided entirely by considerations of material profit.

Thus one-sided criticisms of our work are unjust. Only men who are able to survey all the many conflicting tendencies of our work, who have sociological knowledge enough to realise that our settlers cannot be moulded like soft wax, *but that change must be gradually and progressively prepared*, are fitted to estimate and appreciate and criticise our work. The time has not yet come when financiers and merchants can be appointed to direct our work in Palestine. We are still in the creative period, where we must prepare definite forms and experiences. This will be known as the pioneer period in the history of Zionism, the heroic period in which the enthusiasm and the creative force of the Halutzim found a way out of the chaos. We are still in the period of storm and stress, and are not distant enough to measure accurately the progress which later generations will be able to appreciate at its true worth.

APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

Procedure for granting a loan from the Zionist Loan Fund.

The conditions for every loan are :—

1. A written application from the intending borrower, stating securities offered, proposed period of repayment, and purpose for which the loan is required.

2. A written report of the Manager of the Agricultural Department of the Colonisation Fund on the correctness of the details given by the applicant, the advisability of the loan, and the securities to be required.

In the case of an application for credit in order to found a new settlement there are further required :—

3. A document showing the conditions under which the new land is placed at the disposal of the settlers.

4. A written report of the Agricultural Experimental Station on the suitability of the new spot for settlement, on the planning of the farms, and on the costs of settlement and prospective yield for each settler.

5. A written report of a competent medical man appointed by the Colonisation Fund on the hygienic conditions of the new site.

6. A comprehensive report from the Manager of the Agricultural Department of the Colonisation

Fund drawn up according to a prescribed form (v. Appendix II.), and containing information on all important questions affecting the success of the settlement.

On the basis of the above data, which are to be communicated in writing to all members of the Vaad Hachaklauth, the directors of the Colonisation Fund will place proposals before the meeting of the Vaad Hachaklauth. If the Vaad accepts them, the directors will place the matter in the hands of the Financial Department of the Colonisation Fund with the requisite instructions.

APPENDIX No. II.

ZIONIST COLONIAL FUND.

Form for the report of the Manager of the Agricultural Department of the Zionist Colonisation Fund before the granting of a loan to settlers in new localities.

A. The site of the settlement.

I.—The ground.

1. Name.
2. Area in dunam (plan to be attached).
3. Purchase price with expenses.
4. Conditions under which the ground is to be transferred to the settler (documents to be attached).
5. Character of the soil.
 - (a) Physical (hilly, flat, marshy).
 - (b) Chemical composition.
 - (c) Agricultural (light, heavy, already worked or virgin, how much arable, whether covered with weeds or stones, for what cultures best suited).
6. (d) Position (distance from harbour, railway station, main road, town, nearest Jewish settlement).
7. Neighbours. What has become of former occupiers? Are quarrels with them or other neighbours likely?

II.—Water.

1. Are there any wells? Are they provided with pumps, or with motor? How deep? What is the yield? Is the water drinkable?
2. Are there any springs? How much water do they supply?
3. Depth of soil water. (Conjecture, or ascertained by boring?)
4. Cost of laying on a drinking water supply.
5. Is irrigation possible? For what area? By gravitation or by pumping? Cost of laying out. Cost of working. Would it pay?

III.—Roads.

1. What roads are there? In what condition?
2. What roads require to be built? Length, breadth, and character of the roads. Cost.

IV.—Drainage and sanitation.

1. Are there any swamps? If so, what? How can they be drained?
2. Cost of draining.
3. Are there malaria-free spots at sufficient distance from the swamps for the building of the colony?

V.—Buildings.

Are there any buildings, and, if so, what? What are they worth?

VI.—Plantations.

Are there any plantations, and if so, what? What is their value and yield?

VII.—Any other remarks on the settlement site.

B.—The Settlers.

1. List of applicants for settlement, stating ages, number in family, country of origin, and length of stay in Palestine. Length of occupation in agriculture in and out of Palestine, number and age of children and other members of the family.

2. How were the applicants selected? Have they already worked together in a group? Are they otherwise connected (by origin or membership of a party)?

3. Have they resources of their own? How much? In money or implements?

4. Any other remarks on the applicants.

C.—Finance and Management.

1. Social organisation of the settlement :
Kvutzah or Moshav Ovdim?

2. Object of the settlement : first occupation and preparation, or permanent settlement?

3. How much ground (and of what category) is available for each settler?

4. What buildings are to be erected? When? At what cost? What are the building sites like?

5. What further investments (for water, roads, hedges, improvements) are required? When? What will they amount to?

6. What live stock and implements must be provided? When? What will they cost?

7. What further expenditure is required (*e.g.*, for seeds, manures, fodder, maintenance) till the settler becomes quite independent?

8. Farming plan.

9. What income (gross and net) will the settler have after becoming quite independent? (Detailed calculation.)

10. Any other remarks on Finance and Management.

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